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ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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THE LATE W. FORSTER.

In our last Number, we gave an obituary notice of the late W. Forster, and intimated our intention to publish a brief biographical memoir of this truly good man, and most devoted abolitionist. In fulfilment of our pledge, we subjoin, as collected from various public sources, the promised notice, which we will preface by the single observation, that if in especial relation to his anti-slavery labours, comparatively so little is said, it is not from any lack of materials, but because his acts were of that unobtrusive character which seeks not the laudation of men, and he was content to accomplish much through the agency of instrumentalities which his influence and example raised up.

The late William Forster was born at Tottenham, in Middlesex, on the 23d of March 1784. His parents being members of the Society of Friends, he was educated in the principles of that religious denomination, in communion with which he spent and closed a consistent and useful life.

In the year 1817 he married Anna, eldest daughter of Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq., of Earl's Colne, in the county of Essex, and sister to the late Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bart., who survives him. An only son was the fruit of this union—William Edward Forster—now a manufacturer at Bradford, a gentleman well known and highly esteemed in that town, and who is the author of several valuable papers on anti-slavery and kindred subjects. Soon after his marriage, Mr. Forster removed to Bradpole, near Bridport, in Dorsetshire, where he continued

to reside till the year 1837, when he removed to Norwich.

Gifted with a vigorous mind and sound judgment, and influenced by motives and impulses inspired by deep religious feeling, William Forster, at an early age, took an active part in the devotional services of the Friends; and, by those with whom he was associated in religious profession, was esteemed and recognised as a highly-gifted minister of the gospel before he was twenty-one years of age. Those who enjoyed the privilege of his ministrations hold them in most affectionate remembrance. In the fulfilment of his ministerial engagement he travelled extensively, not only over the United Kingdom, but through many parts of Europe, and on the continent of America. His first visit to America commenced in the year 1820, and occupied five years in its completion. During this extended period he laboured indefatigably, and visited all the established meetings of the Friends in that country.

This mission, however, was not restricted to the members of his own denomination. Sectarian feeling and littleness had no lodgment in his heart. His Christian sympathies extended to all who worthily bore the Christian name, and his benevolence was worldwide in its grasp. While travelling on the Continent he made it his business to visit individuals of all ranks and conditions, and of every ecclesiastical denomination. Wherever an opportunity of doing good, and of cultivating useful and profitable intercourse with the members of other sects presented itself, it was never allowed to pass unimproved, and more particularly was this the case when any

were the objects of persecution or trial. These were diligently sought out by him, and every consolation which Christian sympathy could furnish was promptly and most zealously administered. One of his latest missions of this character was to the Waldenses, in the valleys of Piedmont, whose ancestors, as is well known, endured such fierce persecution for the maintenance of their Protestant principles.

In his travels, both in Europe and America, he visited almost every institution of a charitable or philanthropic character which came in his way, encouraging its promoters in their laudable efforts, suggesting any improvements in the management or organization which he considered would increase its efficiency, and exhibiting proofs of his cordial sympathy and co-operation with all who, like himself, were interested in the alleviation of human suffering.

Religious institutions, or rather institutions connected with religious efforts, and designed to bear more particularly on the moral and spiritual condition of society, were, if of an unsectarian and expansive character, objects of his warm approval. Of this class was the *British and Foreign Bible Society*, to which he was ardently attached. Its noble object, and its broad and catholic basis, recommended it at once to his adoption, and he not only supported it at home, but embraced every opportunity of aiding its operations when abroad.

To those who had the most superficial acquaintance with the deceased, it is almost superfluous to say that his susceptible nature rendered him peculiarly sensitive to the sufferings and privations of the poor, and that his benevolent heart prompted him to suggest or readily concur in any judicious measures for the relief of distress. There was, in fact, scarcely a local charity with which he was not more or less connected. Associated with the late J. J. Gurney, Esq., Mr. Thomas Geldart, and others, he contributed his earnest and valuable assistance in the origination of the *Norwich Soup Society*, which has continued in operation ever since, and conferred important benefits on the indigent classes of the locality, especially in seasons of more than ordinary rigour, when the comforts of life have been, through want of employment or the high price of food, altogether placed beyond their reach. He also took a deep and uniform interest in the *Blind Hospital*, the *District Visiting Society*, and the *Norfolk and Norwich Hospital*, with the latter of which he was at different times officially connected as a member of the Board of Management.

His efforts, however, for the relief of the destitute, were not restricted to the casual supply of their wants by eleemosynary aid. His experience impressed him with the im-

portance of encouraging provident habits amongst the poor, and, with this view, he not only paid them frequent domiciliary visits, but entered cordially into the formation of the *Provident Coal Society*, which has proved so great a blessing to the poor of Norwich. In his visits to the poor, he inculcated the advantages of temperance and cleanliness, and urged upon them the duty of improving, as far as possible, the condition of their dwellings. The *Provident Bedding Association*, supported by the contributions of a few individuals, an unobtrusive charity, of which not much is known, was entirely under his direction. It has proved the means of supplying many indigent families with comforts otherwise unattainable, and the poor who have availed themselves of its offered advantages, evince the most grateful appreciation of the services it has rendered them.

In common with all eminent philanthropists, he felt a deep and abiding interest in the management of Houses of Correction, and the reformation of the hapless creatures immured within their walls. At the early part of his life, Prison Reform had not been inaugurated, and our gaols were receptacles of wretchedness, vice, and guilt, in their most appalling forms. William Forster was one of four members of the Society of Friends, who, in the year 1813, visited some persons in Newgate who were about to be executed. In an interesting memoir of Mrs. Fry, compiled by Susanna Corder, it is stated that "it has always been understood that the representations of these Friends, particularly of William Forster, first induced her personally to inspect the state of the women, with the view of alleviating their sufferings occasioned by the inclemency of the season." It must have been a source of heartfelt satisfaction to the deceased, that the vivid impressions produced on his mind by this visit to the condemned cells of Newgate led him to enlist so effective an agency in the cause of prison amelioration. The state of discipline, at this period, in our gaols—or rather the utter want of it—and the idleness, riot, and vice, which were allowed to go unchecked, were a disgrace to a civilized—not to say Christian—country; and the improved treatment of prisoners, which has since obtained, shews to what useful and important results the efforts of individual philanthropy may be conducted when guided by Christian principle, and sustained by intelligent zeal and untiring perseverance.

Naturally arising from the attention devoted to prison discipline, Mr. Forster's especial interest was excited by the unhappy state of juvenile offenders in our gaols. The reformation of this numerous and neglected class of criminals was a subject which lay near his heart, though he more specially laboured to reform the habits and improve the character and pursuits of the youthful inmates of the gaol of

the city in which he resided. To what extent his amiable intentions were successful, is not known, as his modesty rarely allowed him to refer to his private efforts; but the subject of reformatory schools was one which frequently occupied his thoughts, and he evinced great interest in a newly-formed institution at Buxton, (Norfolk,) which he considered to have strong claims on public support. He also paid considerable attention to the overlooked, or too often forgotten foreign itinerant musicians who visited the city of Norwich, more particularly Germans and Italians. He made himself acquainted with them by personal visits, to ascertain if they possessed copies of the Scriptures in their native language, and he laboured to promote the well-being—physical as well as moral—of a class which appears to lie beyond the pale of ordinary benevolent effort.

The subject of education claimed a large share of his regard; and though his own convictions led him more particularly to promote the system of instruction advocated and adopted by the *British and Foreign School Society*, he watched with interest every educational effort to elevate the character and develop the intellectual capabilities of the rising generation.

In the winter of 1846-47, William Forster visited Ireland under circumstances of peculiar interest. In the summer of 1846, with a prospect of an abundant harvest, the entire potato crop of that country, with a few exceptions, was destroyed in one week. The money value of the loss, including a deficient crop of oats, was computed by the Government to amount to sixteen millions sterling. The announcement of this dreadful calamity did not produce at first the alarm which might reasonably have been expected. The idea of millions being reduced to starvation, was one not easily to be realised. Many hoped that the details of the calamity were exaggerated, and others who did not know the absolute dependence of the vast mass of the Irish population on the potato crop, did not believe the consequences would be so direful as were apprehended. Soon, however, both doubts and hopes were dispelled. Proofs of impending famine fearfully multiplied. The appalling fact that the life of a nation trembled in the balance, soon became patent to all, and details of suffering and horror speedily aroused a feeling of universal sympathy. All the resources of individual and national munificence were speedily called into requisition. Relief associations were organized, large sums of money were raised, and the whole machinery of benevolence was put in motion to relieve the distress of a famishing people. The *Indian Relief Fund*, the *Irish Relief Association*, the *General Central Relief Association*, and the *British Relief Association*, poured in the proceeds of their respective

organizations. Ladies, also, formed associations in different parts of Great Britain, some for supplying clothing, and some for promoting industrial occupations among the female peasantry; and, before any committee was formed, a large amount of private contributions was poured into every part of the country, chiefly through the agency of the clergy of the Established Church.

Foremost, or at least prominent, in every enterprise of Christian benevolence, it was not to be expected that the Society of Friends would shrink from the fullest participation in this labour of love. Towards the close of 1846, a meeting of members of that body was convened in Dublin to determine upon the course of action to be pursued in the painful emergency, and, after agreeing to form a separate organization, a *Central Relief Committee* was appointed in the Irish metropolis to raise the needful funds by subscriptions, to obtain authentic information respecting the character of the distress in different localities, and to devise the best means of alleviation. One of its most perplexing difficulties was the acquisition of trustworthy information as to the state of the more remote districts, and the selection of suitable channels through which to distribute the means of relief. From this difficulty they were relieved in a great measure by Mr. Forster, who, under the impression that it was his duty to undertake a journey through the distressed districts, conferred with his friends in London on the subject; and being encouraged by their approving counsel, started on his errand of mercy on the 30th of November 1846. He was accompanied in different parts of his route by English and Irish Friends, with whom he visited the counties of Roscommon, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Donegal, Sligo, Mayo, Galway, Longford, and Cavan. Most of these counties were closely inspected, and especial attention was paid to the wild and desolate parts of each. It was not until the 14th of April 1847 that he completed this engagement, which had been prolonged greatly beyond the expectations at first entertained by himself and his friends, and which he prosecuted in the depth of a very inclement winter, deprived of many of the comforts to which he was accustomed, and his feelings often painfully excited by witnessing so much misery beyond his power to relieve.

In the execution of this arduous undertaking, which afforded full scope for philanthropic exertions, Mr. Forster waited upon or saw almost every person of influence in the north-west of Ireland, and stimulated the upper classes in their exertions to relieve the distress which surrounded them; he opened a correspondence with individuals and local bodies in the remote districts, and engaged many trustworthy agents for the distribution of the funds confided to the committee; he

personally visited the abodes of the famishing, took the full gauge of the existing wretchedness, and in cases where the exigency appeared to demand it, undertook the immediate distribution of relief by advances of money. The full value of his services in this sphere of labour can scarcely be calculated. He hardly allowed himself sufficient time for rest and sleep; and no atmospheric influences, however inauspicious, were allowed to damp his ardour or relax his exertions. Younger and more robust men quailed before the amount of labour through which his unflinching zeal sustained him; but there was little doubt that he overtaxed his strength in the prosecution of his arduous though self-imposed task. He was strongly and peculiarly affected by the harrowing scenes which he was called to witness, and which far exceeded in horror any which his imagination had pictured; and with the combined effect of grief on his tender spirit, and excessive fatigue on his physical system, he returned to England, with a constitution much debilitated by the severity of the exercises through which he had passed. It may be interesting to our readers to know that the total amount of relief in money and food placed at the disposal of the *Central Committee of the Society of Friends* at Dublin, during the visitation of the famine, was nearly 200,000*l*. The supplies sent from America were on a scale of unparalleled liberality.

The subject, however, which awakened Mr. Forster's benevolent feelings, probably more than any other, and from a very early age, was that of Slavery and the Slave-trade. Against the atrocities of the slave system, his spirit, as a man and a Christian, revolted. He was an active member of the London *Anti-Slavery Society*, and was ever ready at the call of duty to embark in any enterprise which commended itself to his judgment to advance the interest of the slave. It was on one of these errands of mercy to the United States that he was arrested by the hand of death.

In the year 1850, the yearly meeting of Friends issued an address to the sovereigns and others in authority in Christian states, on the subject of the Slave-trade and Slavery. Mr. Forster offered his services to be the bearer of this address to the sovereigns of continental Europe; and, in furtherance of this object, he obtained interviews with the kings of Belgium, Holland, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, &c., the Emperor of Austria, the Queen of Spain, and the President of the French Republic. He remained for some time in each place, obtaining interviews with persons of influence, and circulating information connected with the object of his visits and other matters of philanthropic interest. He was always courteously received, and it is hoped that his efforts to impress on the minds of the sovereigns of Europe the rights

of humanity, were not without a salutary effect.

In the summer of 1853, he undertook, in company with his elder brother, Mr. Josiah Forster, Mr. John Candler, and Mr. W. Holmes, who were all delegated by the yearly meeting, to convey the address of the society to the American continent. He had twice before visited the United States, and on the second occasion (though that was not the immediate object of his journey) saw many of the leading senators of the Slave States and conversed with them on the subject of Slavery. In prosecution of this last engagement, he left home in September, and in company with the other members of the Deputation obtained interviews with the President, the Governors of most of the Slave States, and other persons of distinction, by all of whom he was well received. He and his companions had completed their mission to most of the Southern States, and after being with the Governor of South Carolina, they went to Nashville, Tennessee, and presented to the Governor of that state the Address with which they were entrusted. They then bent their course to East Tennessee, and reached the settlement of Friends on the 31st of December. On the following day, Sunday, they were at Hickory Valley Meeting, and on Monday at Friendsville, usually called Newberry Meeting: in both of these William Forster was "strengthened in much tenderness and faithfulness to preach the gospel, and to bear testimony to the unsearchable riches of Christ."

On the Tuesday afternoon they proceeded toward the settlement of Friends at Lost Creek, and lodged at a house about eight miles on their way, on the banks of the Holston river, and twelve miles from Knoxville. They were received with much hospitality, and kindly cared for during their subsequent protracted stay. Here Mr. Forster complained of pain in his left side; but on the Wednesday morning they set out for Knoxville. They had not proceeded far before the pain increased to such severity that they were obliged to return, and he was soon confined to bed. Though kindly and unremittingly waited upon and nursed, and, under medical treatment, the pain was subdued and the original disease seemed removed, yet a state of prostration ensued, which no subsequent remedial means seemed to raise him out of. His mind was preserved in much quietude and calmness, and he evinced great Christian patience. After several partial amendments and relapses, on Wednesday night, the 25th of January, a state of unconsciousness was apparent, which continued through the next day, the 26th, accompanied with difficulty of breathing and a general sinking of the powers of nature. It was evident that his end was approaching, and about

four o'clock on Friday morning, the 27th, he quietly expired. His companion Friends, John Candler and William Holmes, and his sorrowing brother, Josiah Forster, surrounding his bed, the physician and assistant-physician being both in attendance.

A few miles from Louis's Ferry is the village of Friendsville, inhabited by thirty or forty families of Friends. A ministering Friend, of the name of Morgan, belonging to that meeting, had been educated for a physician, and was frequent in his attendance on the sick bed; and it is not an uninteresting fact, that a *slave* from a neighbouring plantation was an efficient and careful attendant. It was meet that this great-hearted friend of the slave should be thus waited on, and doubtless "Henry" knew the character of the man whom he served. When all was over, John Candler crossed the swollen river, and proceeded to Friendsville, and selected, in the burial-ground belonging to the Friends' meeting-house, directly opposite the entrance-door, a spot for the grave. On Sunday morning, the 29th, the body was conveyed across the river, followed by Josiah Forster and William Holmes, &c. The party were met on the opposite side by John Candler and Friends from Friendsville. The funeral was attended by about 200 persons, and, after a time of solemn silence, the coffin was lowered into the grave, Friends standing around (as is the custom of the country) until the grave was filled up. Testimony was borne to the dedication of the departed, and the words enlarged upon—"Whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation, Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever."

TRIBUTE TO MRS. STOWE.

THE Committee for promoting the Tribute to MRS. STOWE, have at length the satisfaction of presenting to the subscribers, a statement of the aggregate amount of the sums collected. On referring to the account of the places from which contributions have been remitted, the number is found to be upwards of 400, and the respective amounts range according to the following division:

| | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------|-------------|-------|
| Sums under | | | |
| 1l. | have been received from | 152 places, | |
| 5l. | " | " | 173 " |
| 10l. | " | " | 33 " |
| Sums from | | | |
| 10l. to 20l. | " | " | 23 " |
| 20l. to 30l. | " | " | 6 " |
| 30l. to 40l. | " | " | 1 " |
| 40l. to 50l. | " | " | 2 " |
| 50l. to 60l. | " | " | 1 " |
| 60l. to 70l. | " | " | 1 " |
| 70l. to 80l. | " | " | 1 " |

One collection of 105l., and another of 214l. completes the amount; and it is interesting to remark, that it includes 5l. from Jamaica, and

5l. from Frankfort, and that 10l. have been collected in Barbados.

CASH ACCOUNT.

| Dr. | £ | s. | d. |
|----------------------------------|-------|----|----|
| Contributions received | 1774 | 5 | 11 |
| Bank interest | 33 | 0 | 0 |
| | £1807 | 5 | 11 |

| | | | |
|--|----|---|----|
| Balance | 7 | 5 | 11 |
| Donation received from Barbados, | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Ditto expected | 10 | 0 | 0 |

| Cr. | £ | s. | d. |
|----------------------------------|-------|----|----|
| Remitted to Mrs. Stowe | 1800 | 0 | 0 |
| Balance | 7 | 5 | 11 |
| | £1807 | 5 | 11 |

| | | | |
|--|----|---|---|
| Expenses incurred in Printing, | | | |
| Postage, and Advertising | 41 | 6 | 2 |

The remainder of expenses will be defrayed by a friend to the object.

THE ADDRESS TO MRS. STOWE which accompanied the Tribute.

The Ladies' Committee who have been engaged in promoting the Testimonial to the authoress of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, have now the gratification of presenting her with the sum of 1800l., collected in localities of which a list will hereafter be forwarded.

They feel assured that this tribute of respect and sympathy to Mrs. Stowe, will be none the less valued from its consisting, for the most part, of very small contributions from the middle and working-classes of this country. They trust that, with the Divine blessing, it will prove of service in the furtherance of those objects which she has indicated, as in her view, best adapted for the emancipation and elevation of the Negro race in America.

Though the amount falls far short of their wishes, they have the satisfaction of believing that the interests of the Anti-slavery cause have been advanced by the measure, and in this respect their efforts have been rewarded.

It is with the most lively feelings of pleasure and satisfaction that they have recently read Mrs. Stowe's letter, addressed to the Anti-Slavery Society in Glasgow, and especially her observations on the importance of the free-labour movement, and its present aspect in America. One leading desire of the Committee in connection with the work of collecting the tribute, was to point out to the people of England the large support given to the slave system of the United States, by the extensive use of the products of slave labour in this country; and they were most anxious that the readers of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* should be aroused to the conviction of the individual responsibility incurred by such consumption.

They tender to Mrs. Stowe their best wishes for her continued success in the great

work in which she is engaged, and their fervent desire that she may live to see it completed in the extinction of slavery in every State of the Union.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,
L. E. STURGE,
M. R. MOORSOM.

Birmingham, Dec. 30th, 1853.

MRS. STOWE'S LETTER OF ACKNOWLEDGMENT
to the Ladies' Committee.

DEAR FRIENDS,

Permit me to acknowledge your letter, announcing the deposit of one thousand eight hundred pounds, subject to my order, as a testimony of the sympathies of the English people for the slave.

It is, to my mind, the more affecting and valuable from the circumstances you suggest; that is, that it consists of very small contributions from the middle and labouring classes.

Undoubtedly while the whole English nation in all its parts, from the highest to the lowest, feels for the cause of liberty and humanity, as represented by the slave, the feeling nowhere exists with more vehemence than in the middle and working-classes. I am aware of the alacrity with which, in the cottages of the poor, the mite has been given which has gone to make up this sum, and it is the more holy and precious in my eyes from that remembrance.

I trust that God in his mercy will remember the working-classes of England for the kindness they have shewn to these poor oppressed ones of America: great have been their burdens, great their sorrows; but they still have liberty remaining to them, and with liberty all else may be hoped in time. The contribution given from their poverty to the slave is a most affecting proof how different a thing is freedom, even when beset with many trials, from slavery.

It is, however, but justice to the nobility of England to say, that while their names do not appear on this testimonial, it is not therefore to be concluded that they were unwilling to express by deeds what they have shewn themselves willing to express in words.

Had not my health been so very precarious as to lead me to decline intimations which I received, and had I had in hand any definite project for the benefit of the slave, I have no doubt that considerable sums might have been placed in my hands from that source; but I invariably replied to all inquiries of the kind, that my object was not to solicit money, though I should not decline to make the best use in my power of what came into my hands unsolicited.

Notwithstanding this, it may be proper to say, that liberal aid has been placed in my hands by some as noble in soul as in blood, an unsolicited offering to relieve the sorrows of the slave. I mention this as a simple act of justice.

The cause of freedom in our country, at present, would seem to be in its darkest hour. The object now seems to be to open all the territories of the Union to slavery by repealing the Missouri Compromise.

We can only refer the future to that God whose ways are unsearchable; Him by whom actions are weighed, whose counsel shall stand, and who will do all His pleasure. "He will make the wrath of man to praise Him, and the remainder thereof He will restrain."

Before this reaches you, this most important question will be decided, and the country will have passed through a most eventful crisis. What the result will be to our country is known to God alone; but that the cause of truth and right shall prevail, and slavery, with every other wrong, perish before the coming of the Lord, is a glorious certainty.

In this hope I remain,

Your's very affectionately,

H. B. STOWE.

Andover, Feb. 8th, 1854.

FUGITIVE SLAVES IN CANADA.

A PUBLIC meeting, for the purpose of closing the operations of the association set on foot in aid of the Fugitive Slaves in Canada, was held at Crosby Hall, on Monday evening the 20th of March ult. Samuel Gurney, Esq., presided, and was supported by the following gentlemen: Sir E. N. Buxton, Bart., Gurney Barclay, Esq., the Rev. J. Sherman, the Rev. John Macfarlane, the Rev. James Hamilton, D.D., Robert Forster, Esq., R. N. Fowler, Esq., Stephen Bourne, Esq., J. T. Tyler, Esq., Josiah Conder, Esq., S. Horman-Fisher, Esq., Joseph Paine, Esq., Mr. L. A. Chamerovzow, &c.

The Chairman having opened the proceedings, S. Horman-Fisher, Esq., one of the Honorary Secretaries, submitted the report of the Committee:

REPORT.

"It may be necessary to state that the small association under whose auspices this meeting has been convened, was set on foot for the purpose of raising a sum of money in aid of the fugitive slaves in Canada. The claims upon our sympathies of this unfortunate class of our fellow-creatures were brought forward by the Rev. S. R. Ward, agent of the *Anti-Slavery Society of Canada*. In consequence of his representations of the destitute condition of these fugitive slaves, on their arrival in Canada after effecting their escape, a preliminary meeting, under the auspices of the Right Honorable the Earl of Shaftesbury, was held at *Radley's Hotel* in June last, which resulted in the calling of a public meeting which was convened at *Freemasons' Hall*, on the 21st June of the same month."

The Secretary then gave the particulars of that meeting, which we do not reproduce, as they will be found in the *Anti-Slavery Re-*

porter for July last. He then proceeded to state:

"Since that meeting, and the nomination of the Committee, Mr. Ward has been engaged in prosecuting his labours. He has visited the principal towns of England and Scotland, and collected nearly 1200*l*. The object for which this Committee was organized being now accomplished, the Committee have convened this meeting for the purpose of affording Mr. Ward an opportunity of stating what he has done, and of giving the Committee a similar opportunity of resigning their trust.

"The Committee beg to submit the financial statement.

There has been collected, at public meetings and by private donations, 1144*l*. 15*s* 9*d*., which, added to the sum of 50*l*. 5*s*. promised, will be found to amount to 1195*l*. 0*s*. 9*d*. The Committee have paid over to the *Anti-Slavery Society of Canada* 400*l*. for fugitive slaves in Canada; 320*l*. 9*s*. 9*d*. is the amount that has been disbursed for travelling expenses, costs of meetings, and salary of Mr. Ward, and 424*l*. 6*s*. remain in hand."

The Rev. S. R. Ward then addressed the meeting at considerable length, giving an account of his proceedings in connexion with his mission to this country. He then returned thanks to the gentlemen who had come forward to assist in the promotion of the object which he had so closely at heart, but especially to the Earl of Shaftesbury and the Rev. J. Sherman: to the former for having so readily given his countenance to the enterprise, and to the latter for his very generous hospitality. To these gentlemen, as well as to all the friends who had laboured in behalf of the emancipation and elevation of the slave, he would say: "May the blessing of those who are ready to perish ever be yours."

Sir Edward North Buxton, Bart., moved the first resolution, which was as follows:

"That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Right Hon. the Earl of Shaftesbury, for his efficient aid in forming the Society and presiding over its operations; and to Geo. Wm. Alexander, Esq., Treasurer; and the Rev. J. Sherman, and S. Horman-Fisher, Esq., the Honorary Secretaries, for the able manner in which they have discharged the duties of their office."

The resolution was seconded by the Rev. John Macfarlane, and carried unanimously.

Joseph Payne, Esq., then moved, and R. N. Fowler, Esq., seconded, the following resolution, which was also carried:

"That the cordial thanks of this meeting be presented to Samuel Gurney, Esq., for his kindness in presiding over the proceedings of the evening."

Samuel Gurney, Esq., having returned thanks, the meeting separated.

ITEMS OF SLAVERY.

It is a common charge against the Abolitionists that they slander "the peculiar institution," and exaggerate its worst features. We certainly have no desire to dwell upon the horrors of slavery, but cases do sometimes occur, of a barbarity so revolting, that to pass them over in silence would be tantamount to participating in the crimes that are committed under the wicked system. It has been frequently observed to ourselves, when narrating some of the instances of cruelty recorded in Theodore Weld's *Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses*, that they occurred many years ago, and that the institution of slavery has since become more humanised. In such an opinion we have never been able to acquiesce, for unhappily, the facts to the contrary are too numerous, and of too frequent occurrence. We submit two or three, selected from recent files of American newspapers. The first is the case of a slave who was burned to death, in open day, for having, as the local papers express it, "had the impudence to raise his hand against a white man." The offence is, according to the slave-code, one that entails the punishment of death. In the instance under notice, the unhappy offender was tried by the Lynch Court, which sentenced him to be burned to death. A Natchez paper, the *Free-Trader*, giving an account of this horrible transaction, says:

"The negro was taken and chained to a tree immediately on the banks of the Mississippi, on what is called Union Point. Faggots were then collected and piled round him, to which he appeared quite indifferent. When the work was completed, he was asked what he had to say. He then warned all to take example by him, and asked the prayers of all around. He then called for a drink of water, which was handed him: he drank it and said, 'Now set fire, I am ready to go in peace.' The torches were lighted and placed in the pile, which was soon ignited. He watched unmoved the curling flame, that grew until it began to entwine itself around and fix upon his body, and then he sent forth cries of agony, painful to the ear, begging some one to blow his brains out, at the same time struggling with almost superhuman strength, until the staple with which the chain was fastened to the tree (not being well secured) drew out, and he leaped from the burning pile. At that moment the sharp ringing of several rifles was heard, and the body of the negro fell a corpse on the ground. He was picked up by some two or three, and again thrown into the fire and consumed, not a vestige remaining to shew that such a being ever existed. Nearly four thousand slaves were collected from the plantations in the neighbourhood to witness this scene. Numerous speeches were made by the magistrates and ministers of religion, to the large concourse of slaves, warning them, and

work in which she is engaged, and their fervent desire that she may live to see it completed in the extinction of slavery in every State of the Union.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,
L. E. STURGE,
M. R. MOORSOM.

Birmingham, Dec. 30th, 1853.

MRS. STOWE'S LETTER OF ACKNOWLEDGMENT
to the Ladies' Committee.

DEAR FRIENDS,

Permit me to acknowledge your letter, announcing the deposit of one thousand eight hundred pounds, subject to my order, as a testimony of the sympathies of the English people for the slave.

It is, to my mind, the more affecting and valuable from the circumstances you suggest; that is, that it consists of very small contributions from the middle and labouring classes.

Undoubtedly while the whole English nation in all its parts, from the highest to the lowest, feels for the cause of liberty and humanity, as represented by the slave, the feeling nowhere exists with more vehemence than in the middle and working-classes. I am aware of the alacrity with which, in the cottages of the poor, the mite has been given which has gone to make up this sum, and it is the more holy and precious in my eyes from that remembrance.

I trust that God in his mercy will remember the working-classes of England for the kindness they have shewn to these poor oppressed ones of America: great have been their burdens, great their sorrows; but they still have liberty remaining to them, and with liberty all else may be hoped in time. The contribution given from their poverty to the slave is a most affecting proof how different a thing is freedom, even when beset with many trials, from slavery.

It is, however, but justice to the nobility of England to say, that while their names do not appear on this testimonial, it is not therefore to be concluded that they were unwilling to express by deeds what they have shewn themselves willing to express in words.

Had not my health been so very precarious as to lead me to decline intimations which I received, and had I had in hand any definite project for the benefit of the slave, I have no doubt that considerable sums might have been placed in my hands from that source; but I invariably replied to all inquiries of the kind, that my object was not to solicit money, though I should not decline to make the best use in my power of what came into my hands unsolicited.

Notwithstanding this, it may be proper to say, that liberal aid has been placed in my hands by some as noble in soul as in blood, an unsolicited offering to relieve the sorrows of the slave. I mention this as a simple act of justice.

The cause of freedom in our country, at present, would seem to be in its darkest hour. The object now seems to be to open all the territories of the Union to slavery by repealing the Missouri Compromise.

We can only refer the future to that God whose ways are unsearchable; Him by whom actions are weighed, whose counsel shall stand, and who will do all His pleasure. "He will make the wrath of man to praise Him, and the remainder thereof He will restrain."

Before this reaches you, this most important question will be decided, and the country will have passed through a most eventful crisis. What the result will be to our country is known to God alone; but that the cause of truth and right shall prevail, and slavery, with every other wrong, perish before the coming of the Lord, is a glorious certainty.

In this hope I remain,

Your's very affectionately,

H. B. STOWE.

Andover, Feb. 8th, 1854.

FUGITIVE SLAVES IN CANADA.

A PUBLIC meeting, for the purpose of closing the operations of the association set on foot in aid of the Fugitive Slaves in Canada, was held at Crosby Hall, on Monday evening the 20th of March ult. Samuel Gurney, Esq., presided, and was supported by the following gentlemen: Sir E. N. Buxton, Bart., Gurney Barclay, Esq., the Rev. J. Sherman, the Rev. John Macfarlane, the Rev. James Hamilton, D.D., Robert Forster, Esq., R. N. Fowler, Esq., Stephen Bourne, Esq., J. T. Tyler, Esq., Josiah Conder, Esq., S. Horman-Fisher, Esq., Joseph Paine, Esq., Mr. L. A. Chamerovzow, &c.

The Chairman having opened the proceedings, S. Horman-Fisher, Esq., one of the Honorary Secretaries, submitted the report of the Committee:

REPORT.

"It may be necessary to state that the small association under whose auspices this meeting has been convened, was set on foot for the purpose of raising a sum of money in aid of the fugitive slaves in Canada. The claims upon our sympathies of this unfortunate class of our fellow-creatures were brought forward by the Rev. S. R. Ward, agent of the *Anti-Slavery Society of Canada*. In consequence of his representations of the destitute condition of these fugitive slaves, on their arrival in Canada after effecting their escape, a preliminary meeting, under the auspices of the Right Honorable the Earl of Shaftesbury, was held at *Radley's Hotel* in June last, which resulted in the calling of a public meeting which was convened at *Freemasons' Hall*, on the 21st June of the same month."

The Secretary then gave the particulars of that meeting, which we do not reproduce, as they will be found in the *Anti-Slavery Re-*

porter for July last. He then proceeded to state:

"Since that meeting, and the nomination of the Committee, Mr. Ward has been engaged in prosecuting his labours. He has visited the principal towns of England and Scotland, and collected nearly 1200*l*. The object for which this Committee was organized being now accomplished, the Committee have convened this meeting for the purpose of affording Mr. Ward an opportunity of stating what he has done, and of giving the Committee a similar opportunity of resigning their trust.

"The Committee beg to submit the financial statement.

There has been collected, at public meetings and by private donations, 1144*l*. 15*s* 9*d*., which, added to the sum of 50*l*. 5*s*. promised, will be found to amount to 1195*l*. 0*s*. 9*d*. The Committee have paid over to the *Anti-Slavery Society of Canada* 400*l*. for fugitive slaves in Canada; 320*l*. 9*s*. 9*d*. is the amount that has been disbursed for travelling expenses, costs of meetings, and salary of Mr. Ward, and 424*l*. 6*s*. remain in hand."

The Rev. S. R. Ward then addressed the meeting at considerable length, giving an account of his proceedings in connexion with his mission to this country. He then returned thanks to the gentlemen who had come forward to assist in the promotion of the object which he had so closely at heart, but especially to the Earl of Shaftesbury and the Rev. J. Sherman: to the former for having so readily given his countenance to the enterprise, and to the latter for his very generous hospitality. To these gentlemen, as well as to all the friends who had laboured in behalf of the emancipation and elevation of the slave, he would say: "May the blessing of those who are ready to perish ever be yours."

Sir Edward North Buxton, Bart., moved the first resolution, which was as follows:

"That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Right Hon. the Earl of Shaftesbury, for his efficient aid in forming the Society and presiding over its operations; and to Geo. Wm. Alexander, Esq., Treasurer; and the Rev. J. Sherman, and S. Horman-Fisher, Esq., the Honorary Secretaries, for the able manner in which they have discharged the duties of their office."

The resolution was seconded by the Rev. John Macfarlane, and carried unanimously.

Joseph Payne, Esq., then moved, and R. N. Fowler, Esq., seconded, the following resolution, which was also carried:

"That the cordial thanks of this meeting be presented to Samuel Gurney, Esq., for his kindness in presiding over the proceedings of the evening."

Samuel Gurney, Esq., having returned thanks, the meeting separated.

ITEMS OF SLAVERY.

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telling them that the same fate awaited them if they should prove rebellious to their owners."

We ask, what must be the state of the public opinion that tolerates such noonday cruelty as this, and what must be the ideas of religion entertained by professed ministers of the gospel, who sanction such deeds by their presence?*

The next item is from the *New Orleans Crescent* of the 27th December last. The incident proves that real Legrees are not wanting as prototypes to the monster who figures in Mrs. Stowe's pages:

"A runaway negro man, calling himself Lewis, was brought before Recorder Winter yesterday. He was a most wretched-looking darkey, and his miserable appearance attested the truth of his story of hard treatment and barbarous severity: he had but one hand, and his head was tied up as if in consequence of some recent hurt, and his face was emaciated, and would, if possible, have been pale. He stated that he belonged to a man named Lynch, who had a plantation across the river, and that he had run away in consequence of his master frequently beating him without cause, and with the utmost severity: he declared that Lynch had shot at him twice, and had repeatedly threatened to kill him; and that, being apprehensive that he might carry his threats into execution, he had run away, and come to the city to claim the protection of the authorities.

"He had been bought, it appears, in Kentucky, by his present master, and his former owner had lately endeavoured to re-purchase him; and because Lynch had absolutely refused to sell him at any price, some have been uncharitable enough to infer that he retained him as an object upon which to exercise his cruelty."

The third incident is from the *New Orleans True Delta*, and the offenders against humanity are a lady and her daughter:

"For several weeks past rumour has busied herself by the circulation of strange tales of cruelty, alleged to have been perpetrated by Madame Chauveau and her daughter, the Widow A. Moret, on the person of their slaves. The case was finally brought to the notice of the Grand Jury, and the Grand Inquest had the slaves, owned by the two women, brought before them and personally examined. The result was, that the foreman made an affidavit, as follows, before the First District Court:

"*State of Louisiana v. Madame Chauveau and Mme. Widow Alfred Moret.*—Moses Greenwood, Foreman of the Grand Jury, being duly sworn, deposes and says, that from the testimony of others before the Grand Jury, and from his own personal observation, he avers that the slaves belonging to Madame Chauveau and Madame A. Moret, the defendants, are subject to most cruel

and inhuman treatment; that they have upon their bodies the marks of punishment and torture unwarranted by any law, and of a character inhuman; that they have not been provided with sufficient food; that their bodies indicate that injuries are inflicted with iron instruments, with pins, fire, and other means of a most revolting description; that the slaves are not safe in the custody of Madame Chauveau and Madame Alfred Moret, until legal steps can be taken to bring the defendants to trial: deponent therefore prays that the said Mesdames Chauveau and Moret be arrested, to be dealt with according to law, and that the slaves, Rose and child, Emma, Mary, Hannah, and Adolphe, belonging to Madame Chauveau, and the slaves, Mary, Ellen, and Joe, belonging to Madame Moret, be taken into custody of the Sheriff, and kept until the final hearing of this matter.

"Sworn to and subscribed, &c.

"MOSES GREENWOOD.

"On this affidavit a *capias* was issued by the Judge of the First District Court, and the accused were arrested and held to bail in the sum of 100 dols. for their appearance on the day of trial. The return of the *capias* was made yesterday by the Sheriff's officer."

Miscellaneous.

OPENING THE PRISON-DOOR.—Two years ago there died in New Orleans a gentleman named Macdonald, who left behind him a property of many millions of dollars, the whole of which he bequeathed for purposes of public benevolence in Louisiana. This singular man, who lived in the most miserly manner, expended next to nothing upon himself, and never gave away any thing, not even to his near relatives, who were almost perishing of want: his one thought was how to save, to accumulate, and by the increase of each day to double his capital, and to this end all his activity and industry were applied, even in the smallest thing. He was parsimonious even of his words, and parted with nothing unnecessarily.

Nevertheless he had great thoughts and plans. He considered himself as destined by Providence to acquire an immense property, by means of which to achieve great things for the good of the State of which he was a native.

He regarded himself, therefore, as the steward of his wealth; and maintained that he had no right to give even the smallest portion thereof for the most trifling object. These at least were the prettexts with which he gilded his parsimony and hardness of heart. He said: "If I, year after year, double my capital in this (a certain given) proportion, I shall in the end become the richest man in Louisiana: I might, continuing in this way, ultimately purchase the whole of Louisiana, and then —"

Then he would do great things, which would make Louisiana the finest and happiest State in the Union. And Macdonald had views for this purpose, and plans which prove him to have been a man of a deeply thinking mind. But the poor man forgot that he was mortal, and, although he attained to an extreme old age, yet he had not nearly acquired the wealth after which he strove when he was surprised by death. His magni-

* Since the above was in type, the fact has been contradicted in some of the American papers, and it is stated that the occurrence, though perfectly true, happened some years ago.

(Ed. A. S. R.)

ficent plans died with him, and effected little or nothing for Louisiana, except possibly in one respect, and that is the one of which I spoke as *the opening of the prison door*.

Macdonald was a planter and owner of slaves. He determined to emancipate his slaves, and that in a mode by which they should gain and he lose nothing.

He said to them: "You shall work yourselves free, and purchase your own release from slavery for the same sum which I paid for you. I will give you the means of doing this. You shall work for me five days in each week, as heretofore, for food, clothing, and habitation; you shall work for me also on the sixth day, but I will pay you wages for that, and give you credit for the money thus earned, which I will employ for you. Thus the first year. During the second year you shall be paid for two days' labour in the week, provided that you work industriously and well; the following year, three; and so on, till the sum is acquired which is requisite for my reimbursement, and for you to have a little over, so that you may possess enough to begin life with in Liberia, whither I shall send you when you are free."

The slaves knew that Macdonald would keep his word. They began to labour with new heart, because they now laboured for their own freedom and their future well-being. Some accomplished it more rapidly, others more slowly; but within two years *all* the slaves on the plantation had worked themselves free. Macdonald fulfilled his part to them as he had promised, and they could now become free without detriment to themselves or others. They had become accustomed to work, to forethought and self-government, at least so far as regards their own affairs.

In the mean time Macdonald's plantation had been unusually well cultivated, and the slaves had repaid the original purchase-money. I do not know whether it was Macdonald's intention to have his plantation afterwards cultivated by white labourers or by free blacks; but one thing appears to me certain, and that is, that Macdonald's mode of effecting the emancipation of slaves is deserving of consideration and imitation, as one of the wisest that can be devised for the gradual and general release of both the blacks and the whites of North America from the fetters of slavery. I know many estimable and thinking men of New Orleans who consider that such a mode of emancipation as would by degrees convert the negro slaves into free labourers, might be put into operation without much difficulty, and that all those dangerous results which people imagine, are in a great measure only fears and fancies (FREDERIKA BREMER: *Homes of the New World*.)

KIDNAPPER'S COURAGE.—A correspondent of the *Christian Press*, writing from Locust Grove, Adam's Co., Ohio, gives the following account of another outrage on the fugitives from oppression:—Last week, five beings, in the form of men, but acting more like fiends from the lower regions, passed through our village, and stayed at a tavern on the outskirts of the village. They passed on northward in pursuit of runaway slaves; and having overtaken two men and a woman, and being armed—report says—with ten revolving pistols, they of course were well pre-

pared to perform their master's service. They shot the horse upon which the woman was riding. They caught one of the men and the woman, but the men fought so bravely that they were forced to let the woman go to save the man. They returned on Saturday with their poor, persecuted, robbed victim, tied hand and foot, like a felon or murderer. The helpless man was badly carved with knives and dirks while manfully fighting for his God-given rights. In this condition they marched him to the above-mentioned tavern, with their pistols in hand, where they kept their wounded and bleeding human chattel tied all night. On Sabbath-morning they marched him through the village with his feet tied under the horse's belly, insulting peaceable citizens both in the village and country. What a contrast! Only a few days before, our cities and villages were crowded with men, women, and children, marching to sound of the band, cheered on by the star-spangled flag, with its eagle fluttering in the breeze, proclaiming, Liberty! Liberty! Alas! has this nation no shame? Will it continue to boast of liberty, while the blood of millions is "crying to God from the ground" for vengeance on its guilty head; for husbands, wives, children, fathers, mothers, sisters, and brothers, sold—worked—whipped, yea, and virtuous females are made prostitutes, and all "according to law."

A SLAVE-HOLDING MINISTER.—A friend in Pennsylvania, writing on business, alludes to the fact that W. T. Brantly, said to be a slave-holder, is supplying the First Baptist Church, Philadelphia; and thinks that, should he accept the call of the Church to become its pastor, it will make a division in the Central Union Association, as that body is known to contain some anti-slavery elements. Mr. Brantly is a son of Dr. Brantly, who for many years, prior to 1839 or 1840, held the pastorate of the church which has now extended a call to the son. Whether he is actually a slave-holder, we are not informed. It is certain, however, that he has long been associated and identified with slaveholders. At the time of the great Southern secession in 1845, he was pastor in the Baptist church in Augusta, Georgia, with which the delegates who organised the Southern Baptist Convention assembled, and called the meeting to order. More recently he has held a professorship in one of the Southern literary institutions. It is but a few weeks since he visited Utica, and preached by invitation in the Dutch Reformed, Bleeker Street Baptist, and First Presbyterian churches. The pastors of these churches, we presume, would be slow to introduce into their pulpits a man accustomed to practise, or to justify and defend ordinary theft; but how much better is it to extend this token of fraternal regard to one who, if not himself a man-stealer, has been for years consenting with and vindicating man-stealers?—*American Baptist*.

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.—The *Dayton Journal* says, that George W. McQuerry, the slave about whom so much excitement was caused in that neighbourhood a short time ago, and who was taken by his master to Kentucky, and afterwards sold to a Georgian, has escaped, passing through Dayton a few days since, on his way to Canada.—*Cin. Unionist*.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter,
MONDAY, MAY 1st, 1854.

OUR ANNUAL MEETING.

THE Annual Meeting of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* is appointed to be held at Exeter Hall, on Monday the 22d of May instant.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Shaftesbury is expected to preside.

The Chair will be taken at half-past six in the evening.

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, feel it to be their duty to call the attention of their fellow Christians of every denomination, to the extraordinary efforts which are being made in the United States of America, to consolidate the influence and to extend the area of slavery. Following closely upon that most infamous enactment called the Fugitive Slave Law, and in defiance of the most solemn engagements that slavery should never be permitted to overstep the limits assigned to it in the measure known as the "Missouri Compromise," a bill for the organization of the territory of Nebraska, which, it is understood, has the approval of the President, has recently been forced through the Senate by a majority of 37 to 14, and now lies for approval before the House of Representatives. Should it become law, an area of 485,000 square miles, a region extending from South to North through 12 degrees of latitude, and from East to West through 11 degrees of longitude, and embracing some of the most fertile lands on the American continent, will come under the blighting influence of slavery. Its effect will be to sever the East from the West of the United States, by a wide slave-holding belt of country, extending from the Gulf of Mexico to British North America: to stay the progress of the Free States westward, and to cut off the Free States of the Pacific from the Free States of the Atlantic: to retard greatly the settlement and the cultivation of the country, and impair its usefulness and value by virtually excluding from it the energy and the enterprise of freedom: to compel the whole commerce and the whole travel between the East and the West to pass for hundreds of miles through a slave-holding region, in the very heart of the continent; and by the influence of a Federal Government, controlled by the slave power, to extinguish freedom and establish slavery in the states and territories of the Pacific, and thus permanently subjugate the whole country to the yoke of a slave-holding despotism.

Deeply impressed with a sense of the enormity of the sin of slave-holding, the Committee believe that a responsibility rests upon British Christians to enter a firm and an uncompromising protest against every attempt to perpetuate or to extend the influence of a power which is fatal to the best interests of humanity, and at variance with the principles and precepts of religion. They believe it to be right to point out, that with some honourable exceptions—and they would give prominence to the protest of a large number of Ministers of Religion in Massachusetts, recently presented to Congress against the Nebraska bill—the main body of the professed Ministers of the Gospel in the United States have too generally become adverse to the work of Abolition, or are disinclined to oppose the slave-holding influence; notwithstanding which, delegates from these bodies annually visit this country, in order to become identified with its various religious interests. The moral support which is given to the system of slavery, by the countenance afforded to men who are either opposed or indifferent to the abolition of slavery, materially strengthens the position of those who uphold this great iniquity, or who abstain from bearing a testimony against it, and operates as one of the most serious impediments to the improvement of public opinion in America on this grave question.

The Committee therefore respectfully but earnestly entreat those on whom may devolve the making of arrangements for the approaching religious and other Anniversaries, to be well assured of the real character and opinions, in relation to slavery, of such Americans, Ministers or others, as may present themselves to take part in them, and seriously to consider how far it may be consistent, or even right, to give countenance to individuals, who, whilst professing in this country anti-slavery sentiments in the abstract, are not known to have advocated Abolition in the United States, either at public meetings or in the pulpit.

On behalf of the Committee,
 (Signed) G. W. ALEXANDER,
Chairman of Committee.
 L. A. CHAMEROVZOW,
Secretary.

27, New Broad Street,
 21st April 1854.

THE REV. F. HEMMING.

In the *Reporter* for February last we inserted a letter relating to the Rev. F. Hemming, which we had addressed officially to the Committee of the *Manchester Anti-Slavery Union*, with a view to explain what we conceived to be that gentleman's true position in relation to the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, whose agent he

gave us to understand he was, and in which capacity we received, and even recommended him. In justice to the Society, respecting which an impression has been conveyed by Mr. Hemming's proceedings, that it contemplated raising 4000*l.* in Great Britain, we deem it our duty to submit the following extract from a letter recently received from Lewis Tappan, Esq. of New York, (Corresponding Secretary to the above-mentioned Society,) in answer to a communication from ourselves, making certain inquiries, and conveying the intimation that the reply to them would be published. As the project which was set on foot, at Mr. Hemming's instigation, on the occasion of his first visit to Manchester, has, we believe, been relinquished, it will be understood that our object in giving publicity to Mr. Tappan's answer is simply that the true position of the various parties may be defined.

Referring to the *Outline of Effort* published in the last Annual Report of the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, Mr. Tappan informs us, that owing to various causes which had retarded the making of efforts to raise the sum of 20,000 *dols.*, needful for carrying out the proposed operations, this amount had not been raised. He proceeds to say:

"In this connection I will reply to your questions about the Rev. F. Hemming, who is now in England, and supposed by some to be an agent of our Society for the purpose of raising funds. Mr. H. is a worthy Wesleyan minister, an Englishman by birth, who has resided in this country some years. He has been sustained in his pastoral labours in part by the *American Missionary Association*. Being about to sail for England, as a delegate to his denomination in your country, he suggested that he might be offered funds there, or be able to raise them, for the promotion of the anti-slavery cause in this country. I told him our Society had always been averse to soliciting money abroad for such a purpose, but if any persons of his denomination, or out of it, in England, should offer him money in a private way, to be used here, he might receive and transmit it. In furtherance of his views, I gave him a letter of recommendation; but our Executive Committee have never appointed him agent, nor have they been informed that he has ever acted in that capacity. I have no doubt that Mr. Hemming is a good man, and is actuated by good principles. Whether he has been discreet in all his movements abroad, those who have witnessed his course can better judge than myself."

It is only right we should submit the authority on which, at one time, we were betrayed into the error of believing that Mr. Hemming was not only an agent of the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, but was duly authorized by its Executive Committee to collect funds for the promotion of the Society's objects.

The following is a *verbatim et literatim* extract from a letter addressed to L. A.

Chamerozvow, by Mr. Hemming, in consequence of an official communication made by Mr. Chamerozvow to the Honorary Secretaries of the *Manchester Anti-Slavery Union*, setting forth, in reply to an inquiry of theirs, what the Committee understood to be Mr. Hemming's real position in this country.

28 Greggson Street, Everton, L'pool,
August 8, 1853

"DEAR SIR:

"A letter from F. W. Chesson, Esq. of Manchester encloses some startling misconceptions of my character and position made by you apparently, which demands from me some explanations that I trust will prove satisfactorily clear to avoid all future misunderstandings, and draw from you a corresponding reciprocity.

"I cannot conceive how you should think I am here in the capacity of a 'Wesleyan Missionary,' appealing to 'my own denomination' for funds in connection with 'the American Missionary Society,' and 'not as an Agent of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society seeking to collect funds in aid of that Society for Anti-Slavery purposes.'

"I came here to you with a letter from Lewis Tappan, Esq., introducing me as ('a brother beloved,') to use his own kind words; and I could not but think that such a letter entitled me to implicit credence at your hands. I was also authorised by him to collect funds for the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, he authorising me as Corresponding Secretary of our Executive Committee. This I told you.

* * * * *

We have only to observe, that on the strength of this affirmation, we recommended Mr. Hemming privately, to a few friends; but as we had not received from Mr. Tappan any letter thus authorising Mr. Hemming, we did not think it right publicly to encourage him in the prosecution of the scheme he had originated and set on foot through the instrumentality of other parties. We think the extract from Mr. Tappan's letter to us, given above, must satisfy every impartial person, that Mr. Hemming's zeal led him to overstep the limits of his authority, and that his indiscretion in this particular has proved the means of placing a Society, with which he has no connection, in a very false position before the Anti-Slavery public.

COLOURED LECTURERS.—CAUTION.

MR. J. D. C. A. SMITH.

WE have received from the Rev. S. R. Ward the subjoined letter, to which we readily give insertion. As our object in publishing our Caution, was simply to protect the benevolent against imposture, we think it not less incumbent upon us to give publicity to dependable testimony in favour of the really deserving. We have, therefore, great pleasure in

setting our correspondent, J. D. C. A. Smith, or "Boxer" Smith, right with the public.

"Braintree, Essex, 1st April.

"My dear Sir,

"I see, in the last *Reporter*, a letter from Mr. Smith, expressing fear that he should be injured by your caution against impostors.

"I am happy to say that if Mr. Smith is an impostor, he must have become such since he came to England. For the occasion he refers to I well remember, and the facts concerning the Syracuse meeting are just as he states them. At that meeting, I gave him the *soubriquet* of 'Boxer' Smith, because he is the man who nailed the box in which Henry Box Brown escaped from Virginia.

"I presume this is the same person concerning whom you spoke to me on the 24th ult. I believe him to be a true man.

"Your obedient servant,

"S. R. WARD.

"Mr. Chamerovzow."

REUBEN NIXON THE IMPOSTOR.

We have received from this unworthy man, a letter which we deem it right to publish, with our reply thereto. He has practised deception so successfully, and can simulate penitence and piety with such consummate skill, that it becomes imperative on us to place the public—especially the anti-slavery section of it—fully upon their guard against him, and to expose the artifices to which he resorts in order to delude those on whose sympathies he thinks he can operate with effect. Of these, he seems to have found the affectation of piety most successful. The emotion with which he preaches and prays is almost marvellous, when it is borne in mind that it is all a great sham, and that he is only acting. The deception, however, is not easy to detect, for, to aid the effect he wishes to produce, he brings into play his remarkable talent for shedding tears at opportune moments, so that persons who listen to his discourses, or to the tale he tells of his experience of slavery, fall into the trap and are cleverly caught, even when they think they are quite on their guard.

With a full knowledge of these facts, we believe we are rendering the friends of the cause a service, in giving them the benefit of our own experience of Reuben Nixon's impositions.

"Lewes Prison, 12th April, 1854.

"Dear friend,

"I take this opportunity of writing to you in my unhappy state. I feel that it has been a good thing for me, I have been placed in the situation I am now in; although I fail very fast in bodily strength, I feel strong in mind. You remember that afternoon I had some conversation with you. Oh had I been as willing to confess at that time to my God as I was to you, I feel I had not been here now; but I trust it is not too late. Since I have been confined, I have employed almost all my time in reading my Bible. I find myself con-

demned in most every page. Still I find some promises that encourage me, in the 18 Chap: Ezekiel 27 & 28 Verse.—Again when the wicked man turneth away from all his wickedness that he hath committed, and doth that which is lawful and right he shall save his soul alive because he considereth and turneth away from all his transgressions that he hath committed—he shall surely live he shall not die.—I feel as though that is meant for me.

"I don't send you this note thinking that I am any more deserving of your mercy and kindness, and only hope you will look at my behaviour in future, if God spare my life and I enjoy my liberty once more. Since I have been here, I have been treated very kindly by all Officers. I have not received a cross word from any quarter. The chaplain visits my cell occasionally, but I feel so guilty—I hardly have the courage to talk and hear.

"I hope you have said nothing of my case at Offord Darcey: the trouble now that I have given them must be enough without any more; if you have it cannot be helped. My mind is made up what I shall do when I get out, if God is willing.—I dare not promise you any more what I am going to do—for I have broke my promise so often—only by the help of my God I shall endeavour to live an honest life while I have to live. I hope I may hear that you and your family are well. I should like much to hear from you. I am only allowed to write once—and receive one letter. If I live my time out I shall write immediately and let you know where I am going. Oh how long the time appears—I almost count the moments as they pass—but I deserve to have twice as long. I pray to God to have mercy on me to forgive me for my past life and make me a better man.—Please write to me.

"I am

"Your unhappy Prisoner,

"REUBEN NIXON.

"Mr. Chamerovzow,

"Secy. Anti-Slavery Society

"27 New Broad Street, London."

"27 New Broad Street,
"17 April 1854.

"REUBEN NIXON,

"I have read the letter which you have dictated. It contains sentiments which I might believe were the sincere expression of a penitent heart, had I not experienced the mournful truth that you are a great adept in the art of deception. You will therefore not feel astonished that I should read them without emotion, and that I should altogether doubt their sincerity. Had you been honestly desirous of reforming, I afforded you every opportunity a penitent might wish for, or hope to obtain, of becoming a useful member of society. But you went systematically to work to deceive me and others, and in the discharge of a public duty, as well as to protect the benevolent from future impositions, but especially on behalf of the unhappy victims of slavery whose sufferings you have made a market of, and whom you have so deeply injured, I had no alternative but to follow and punish you. It is not less my duty to inform you that when you leave your present solitude, I shall

take measures to let the world know you are again at large, and to prevent your obtaining a living by dishonest means, like those which have made you a misdemeanant in this country, and a criminal in your own. I am not at all favourably impressed by your fear lest I should have made known your case to the good people of Offord Darcey. They were the first whom I informed, and your case has been published throughout the country. Further than this, I am taking means to get it inserted in every newspaper of the United Kingdom. I told you I would not be trifled with: I begged of you not to deceive me: I warned you of the consequence if you did: I will keep my word. Your quotations of the Bible strike me now, as your ready tears did when I ascertained that you could shed them easily on any occasion. I am disposed to consider both equally hypocritical. If they are not, I shall rejoice that your imprisonment has been the means of awakening in your mind the religious feelings you have so shamefully and impiously simulated, in the pulpits you have desecrated by your presence in them when you had deception at your heart's core, and falsehood on your lips. I cannot forget that you dictated letters, equally penitent, to the friends in Belfast, whom you so cruelly deceived and robbed, and at a time when you were positively concocting further wickedness. Whether you are or are not guilty of the heartless robbery committed on that coloured man who shared his lodging with you, will probably be determined hereafter. But your past course has been such as to warrant me in believing you to be guilty. I send you an *Anti-Slavery Reporter* containing a statement concerning you: I hope it may produce on your mind the impression that you cannot hope to get a living in this country. At the time of your release, it will again be extensively circulated.

"Now I wish you distinctly to understand that I have no desire to inflict on you unnecessary pain. But it is proper you should also fully understand the position in which you have placed yourself, and consider well what you should do, when you leave prison. I would be a friend to you, if I could; but before you can hope to secure me as such, or I can believe you are the reformed man you say you are, you must afford me some proof more satisfactory and tangible than mere professions of repentance, backed by quotations from Scripture.

"I will just remind you that you left the dock with a lie in your mouth; for you there said you *had been a slave*, though you know well you told me the contrary in the most solemn manner, and when you could have no motive for deceiving me in this respect.

L. A. CHAMEROVZOW.

SUGAR, SLAVERY, AND EMANCIPATION.—No. IV.

In the present paper, we propose to give a summary of the various points to which we have been anxious to call public attention.

We have asserted:

1st. That there is annually burnt, in the megass, nearly one-half of the juice contained in the canes that are actually ground.

Proved by Porter, Kerr, Mitchell, Dau-

brée, Ure, Wray, Liebig, Davy, *Barbados Agricultural Reporter*, &c. &c.

2d. That apart altogether from the enormous, absolute waste arising from this source, from 20 to 25 per cent. of the juice that is positively obtained from any given quantity of canes, is lost—for sugar-making purposes—by the process of skimming it, whilst it is being boiled to the sugar-point.

Proved by Dr. Shier's Report to Governor Barkly, on the *Clarification of Cane-juice*. Dr. Shier was specially employed by the West-India body.

3d. That Cane-juice, reduced to the sugar-point of concentration and set to drain in the ordinary way, yields equal or very nearly equal proportions of sugar and molasses; and that for every hundred-weight of *dry* sugar landed in England, there is also produced 1 cwt. of molasses.

Proved by Kerr, Daubrée, and others; by the Memorial presented to Government in 1846, by the West-India Body, and by the experiment tried by the Surveyor-General of H.M. Customs, by direction of the Board of Trade, in 1847.

4th. That (leaving the above-mentioned sources of dissipation out of the question) it is a wanton waste of produce to ship sugar, imperfectly drained, in perforated hogsheads, so that 15 per cent. of the bulk is pumped into the sea, out of the ship's hold, during the transit, and 2 per cent. more is lost in the warehouses after arrival.

Proved by Dutrone, Kerr, Ure, &c., and generally admitted. May be confirmed by a comparison of the weights shipped with those delivered.

5th. That by imperfect expression, imperfect defecation, and imperfect manufacture, there is incurred an annual destruction, waste, and misappropriation of nearly three-fourths of the saccharine produce of the British West-India colonies.

Proved by a comparison of the Parliamentary returns of Sugar, Rum, and Molasses, entered into the United Kingdom, and cleared for home-consumption, with the quantities of Cane-juice reduced to the sugar-point, requisite, according to the data established by the authorities quoted above, to furnish those importations.

6th. That the losses arising from imperfect defecation, from the process of skimming, and from imperfect conversion, may be obviated by employing "the Archbald process" of defecating Cane-juice.

Proved by the evidence of several competent witnesses; planters, refiners, and West-India merchants, before the *Select Committee on Sugar and Coffee-planting*, in 1848: subsequently confirmed by the results of experiments tried in Antigua, by Mr. Joseph Liggins, in 1850, and consigned in a report under his hand, which was ex-

tensively circulated amongst the West-India Body: also by its success in Trinidad, Grenada, Barbados, St. Kitts, in the United States, Cuba, and other foreign colonies.

7th. That the further losses arising from the shipment of sugar, molasses, and rum, according to the plan at present in use, may also be avoided by the Archbald system of shipping the whole of the crops in the form of Concentrated juice, or of the new material called Concrete.

Proved by the admissions of the West-India Body, in their Memorial to the Board of Trade, in 1846; and by the evidence taken before the *Parliamentary Committee on Sugar and Coffee-planting*, in 1848.

8th. That the West-India Body are perfectly aware of the chief advantages of the Archbald system.

Proved by their enumeration of some of them in their Memorial to the Board of Trade;* by their knowledge of Mr. Liggin's Report;† and by the obvious fact, that it must be more advantageous to ship a crop entire, than to ship only half of it, and lose the remainder.

9th. That the system is profitable.

Proved by the account sales of the returns of an estate in a foreign colony,‡ where the system in question has been several years in operation, and copies of which account sales are in the hands of Messrs. T. Daniel and Co. and of the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*; the same having been furnished by a correspondent of the above-named firm. Also proved by the results of an importation of five puncheons of Concentrated Cane-juice, made by Messrs. T. Daniel and Co. in 1846,§ and by the statements of witnesses before the *Parliamentary Committee* of 1848.

10th. That by the introduction of improved mills alone, there could be obtained, from any given quantity of canes, more than double the amount of saccharine produce procured by the mills in present use.

Proved by the fact, as shewn by the

Returns of the Board of Trade, given in the *Reporter* for March last, that the whole amount of saccharine produce imported from the British West Indies in 1852, amounted to 4,729,814 cwts. But this was the product only of the proportion of raw juice actually expressed, namely, 50 per cent. As, however, the cane contains 90 per cent., it is easy to estimate that the remaining 40 parts, which were burnt, would have yielded four-fifths more than the whole quantity that was imported in that year.

11th. That by shipping the crops in the state of Concentrated or Concrete juice, the canes and the labourers required to produce a given quantity of raw sugar by the method in general use, would positively yield double that quantity.

Proved by the fact, that whilst the West-India crop of 1852 amounted to more than 10,000,000 cwts. of Cane-juice, boiled to the sugar-point, only 3,398,000 cwts. of sugar were imported into the United Kingdom that year, from the British West Indies, leaving a bulk of 6,758,000 cwts. of produce to be accounted for, inclusive of the proportion, namely, of 1,332,000 cwts. that was converted into rum and molasses. As this large quantity of Concentrated juice—which, be it observed, was actually produced—would have yielded half its bulk in sugar and the remainder in molasses, it is obvious that the imports of sugar in 1852 might easily have been doubled, without planting an additional cane or employing one more labourer.

12th. That the West-India proprietary do, as a rule, neglect the means of improvement; are obstinately prejudiced in favour of their old system, and strongly averse to innovation.

Proved by the following facts: that although instances may be cited where particular improvements have been tardily adopted, the system of sugar-making—especially the elementary processes of it, which are the most important—has undergone no material change on West-India estates, but is substantially the same as when it was introduced by the Spaniards more than three centuries ago; that although the conversion of raw Cane-juice into sugar, by the mode of operation in present use, is notoriously a chemical process, requiring much delicacy of manipulation, it is carried on by what planters themselves commonly call "the rule of thumb," as happily descriptive of the routine and ignorance of those to whose hands are confided the nice operations of the boiling-house; that though scientific and practical men—some of them specially retained for the purpose, as Dr. Shier was—have pointed out the sources of positive

* That by removing the fiscal impediments to the importation of the crude article, "a very considerable saving in colonial labour would be effected; the loss by wastage and drainage would be avoided, and the revenue thereby increased; and that these advantages combined might enable the West-India planters to compete successfully with the foreign sugar-growers." (Vide Memorial, as published in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for April last.)

† Vide *Reporter* for April last.

‡ Results given in the *Reporter* for April last.

§ Vide the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for the present month: article, Messrs. T. Daniel & Co. and the *Anti-Slavery Society*.

loss, and suggested improvements to obviate the same, their statements have been ridiculed and disregarded, and their suggestions treated with contempt;* that, to go no further, the West-India Body are quite aware of the pecuniary advantages of the mode of importing their crops in a crude state, instead of in the form of sugar and molasses: have strongly dwelt upon them in a Memorial to the Home-Government: have no valid excuse either in respect of the duty or of the want of a market, for not adopting it, and nevertheless neglect to do so.

We are, therefore, under these circumstances, perfectly justified in asserting emphatically, that the annual destruction of produce entailed by a persistence in the system of waste that has been pointed out, by practical men—the results of whose investigations we have only quoted in support of our allegations—is wilful, wicked, and cruel.

It is wilful; because simple means of avoiding it have been suggested and are neglected.

It is wicked; not only because waste is ever sinful, but because the effect of wasting so large an amount of produce is to dissipate the labour that is employed to procure it.

It is cruel; because in order to supply to consumption, the deficiency of produce that waste occasions, hundreds of thousands of human beings are torn from their homes, reduced to the condition of slaves, and made to toil under the lash almost unremittingly.

Another effect of this waste is to rob free-labour of its due, and to paralyse its successful operations, by bringing it into unfair competition with slave-labour. By virtually diminishing actual production, it enormously increases its cost, which augmentation must be met by corresponding high prices in the markets of the world, for the staple supplied through them to consumption. It therefore gives the slave-holder the benefit of all the advantages which a command of coerced labour secures to him, under these unequal circumstances. It does more, for it leads to the introduction of foreign labour, as a means of compensating for the want of coerced labour, and not only thereby creates an unfair competition

* The *Barbados Agricultural Reporter*, a monthly journal, to which the subscription is only six shillings per annum, has a circulation of only 250, namely, 185 in Barbados, 43 in other islands, and 9 in England. In stating this fact, Dr. J. Davy observes: "So small a demand for this, the only periodical that there is, and it, on the staple produce and industry of these colonies, needs no comment to the reflecting mind."

Ed. A. S. R.

with native free-negro labour, but is the direct cause of a traffic which in infamy, wickedness, and the multiplicity of its horrors, falls scarcely short of the old, execrable, African Slave Trade.†

Nor is this all. Another deplorable effect of this waste, is, that, by keeping up the price of sugar, it directly tends to perpetuate slavery in foreign sugar-producing colonies, by throwing open the British markets to the foreign planter, to the extent of the deficiency it creates.

It cannot be controverted, that all things being equal, slave-labour is dearer than free-labour. In the first place, the employer of it sets out with a disadvantage. Over and above the ordinary expenses of his estate, he has a certain amount of capital invested in a given number of human beings, for whom he has paid a price; who, even at a minimum of comfort, must be fed, clad, and lodged; tended when sick, and overlooked when in health; from whose effective numerical strength a large deduction must be made for the aged, the feeble, the idle, the sick, the runaways, the young, and the incapability—from peculiar causes—of a proportion of the females: all extra items in his general expenditure, making up a permanent total which he must annually cover, come bad seasons, come good; heavy crops or light; high prices or low. There must, therefore, be a certain point below which his expenses for production cannot fall; and by a parity of reasoning, there must also be a certain price below which, if the market value of the staple he produces descends, the production of it will cease to be remunerative, and his slaves be rendered a positive burden. Let him, under such circumstances, augment his production, he will only thereby further reduce prices, and make his burden more intolerable. He would then look to Emancipation as his only source of salvation, and it is not flattering him to believe that self-interest would prompt him eagerly to adopt it.

We maintain that free-labour, legitimately employed, its resources being turned to the best account, would produce this effect. But so long as those who employ it

† Dr. J. Davy designates Immigration as "the expensive and hazardous measure of a new traffic in labour, open to abuses and pregnant with evil, second only to the old one in slaves." We have also private information, on which we can fully rely, that the Chinese who are imported into Cuba, under contracts to labour for five years, are taken manacled into the Slave Market at the Havana, and sold by auction to the highest bidder, without any limit as to the term of their service, and are consequently consigned to hopeless bondage for life. It is understood they are imported in large numbers into Cuba by British merchants.—Ed. A. S. R.

pursue a system by which nearly three-fourths of the fruits thereof are dissipated, the competition between free-labour and slave-labour is unequal; for though the same wasteful system may obtain in each case, slave-labour will maintain its ground against its rival, until the latter shall, in spite of waste, have increased production to superabundance, and thereby reduced prices to the point at which slave-labour ceases to be remunerative.

In view of the proximate assimilation of the sugar-duties; of the fact, that a change or even a modification of the present policy, in favour of free-grown sugars is hopeless; and of the closing of some of the sugar-markets of the world, in consequence of the present war; we hold this to be a time peculiarly suitable for calling the serious attention of the West-India Body, and of the country at large, to the important questions we have mooted. As Abolitionists, seeking to put down the slave-trade and to abolish slavery by all moral and peaceful means, we dare not look unconcernedly on, whilst a system of waste is being persisted in, which tends directly to perpetuate both these evils. As deeply interested in the welfare of our emancipated colonies, believing their prosperity would be a standing reproach to the foreign slave-holder, and deprive him of any reasons against Emancipation which he may derive from the embarrassments—though self-inflicted—of our planters, we may not hold our peace, when we can trace their commercial falling off to economic causes, nor refrain from censuring those, who, having in their own hands, the means of rendering our free colonies flourishing and their free population prosperous, culpably neglect to employ them.

The West-India Body assert, that their only hope of resuscitation lies in an unlimited supply of immigrant labour, and in loans from the British Exchequer to enable them to procure it. We tell them boldly and unhesitatingly, that they stand self-convicted of urging an untenable plea, so long as they dissipate so large a proportion of the labour they have at command, by wasting nearly three-fourths of its products. They allege that "the profitable production of sugar, is, under present circumstances, essentially and beyond all parallel a labour question."* It is; and so is the profitable production of every other raw commodity. But no amount of labour he could command, will enable the West-India planter to produce sugar at a profit, so long as, whilst paying the la-

bourer for five days' labour, he recklessly wastes the product of at least three.†

In reply, generally, to the charge of exaggeration which has been brought against us, we have only to say that we were quite prepared for it. If, however, we have, in any particular, over-stepped the limits of accuracy, let our opponents point out where we are in error. Up to the present moment our facts stand unimpeached, and we publicly challenge the West-India Body to disprove them. We further invite the press to an examination of the subject; nay, we tell "the fourth estate," that it will prove recreant to its trust, unless it aid us in calling public attention to the true causes of the commercially unprosperous condition of the West-India proprietary, and unless it raise its powerful voice against the system of waste we are seeking to expose.

It will not serve the purpose of the West-India Body to reply evasively to our challenge by declining to discuss the points we have raised. We tell them that our determination is to leave them no choice in the matter. If we are in error, we are not above retraction, on the production of proof that our facts are fictions, or that our deductions are false. If, however, our statements prove substantially correct—as we believe them to be—the West-India Body must either rouse themselves from their lethargy, and at once enter upon a career of economy, or lie under the charge of supineness, and of reckless indifference to their own interests, which we have brought against them.

We cannot conclude this paper without referring to the West-India planters, who have fallen under the censure that perhaps more properly attaches to the body of West-India merchants. The latter are in fact the masters of the former, for they hold their purse-strings, and can either promote or retard enterprise. We do not therefore wonder that the *Barbados West-Indian*, commenting upon our first article, and upon the non-adoption of the new mode of shipping the crops as advocated by the thirty-two eminent firms whose names were appended to the Memorial to the Board of Trade in 1846, should say, in defence of the resident planters:

"If the resident West-Indian planters were so stupid and supine, as the *Reporter* describes them, there are proprietors living in England, who cannot be called so, who have large estates in the West Indies. Why did they not adopt the plan, if it was so advantageous as supposed? There are Lord Harewood's estates, the Messrs. Daniel and Sons', Mr. Carrington's, Mr. Harris's, Captain Best's, Mr. Philip Hinds', and his brother's, the Rev. W. Hinds, Mr. Cave's, and many others

* Vide Messrs. T. Daniel and Co.'s letter to the Duke of Newcastle. (Ed. A. S. R.)

† The negro labourer works only five days.—Ed. A. S. R.

in this island, that we might mention, the owners of which are men of wealth and intelligence, who would surely have adopted Mr. Archbald's suggestions, made seven years ago, had they been satisfied that any great benefits would arise from it. It is not only the ignorant planters that have failed to profit by it, but the intelligent absentee proprietary as well, and the large mercantile firms who took it up in the first instance."

It will be for Messrs. Daniel and Co., the champions of the West-India Body, with the proofs in their hands, that large profits are to be realized by adopting the Archbald system, to answer why they have not profited by it. It is not yet too late for them to do so. They inform the Duke of Newcastle that they "will gladly devote" their "means to the advancement of any real improvement." Now, instead of losing time in arguing on a discovery the merits of which their own experiments have placed beyond a doubt, let these enterprising gentlemen magnanimously acknowledge the error into which they have fallen, in attempting to cast discredit upon a system which has passed from the regions of theory into those of fact, and let them at once redeem their pledge to the Duke of Newcastle, by coming forward as patrons of the new process, and by giving it a fair trial, on a scale that will either demonstrate its soundness, to their brother-merchants and fellow-colonists, or prove its "utter worthlessness."

MESSRS. T. DANIEL AND CO., AND THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

MESSRS. T. Daniel and Co. have, on behalf of the West-India Body, addressed to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle a letter, which is alleged to have been called forth by the misrepresentations of the *Anti-Slavery Society*. The misrepresentations complained of, are said to occur in the articles entitled *Sugar, Slavery, and Emancipation*, published in our columns.

In selecting as their champions the highly respected and influential firm whose name stands at the head of this paper, the West-India Body have exhibited considerable tact. They know well that an opinion expressed by these gentlemen will command attention in the highest quarters, and they therefore judge that the defence of their interests could not be confided to better hands. We rejoice to find the questions we have mooted have provoked discussion. If the ultimate result be to induce the West-India Body to depart from the error of their commercial ways, and abandon their present system of waste, we shall not regret the space and labour we have devoted to the subject.

The great question at issue between ourselves and the West-India Body is this: the latter ascribe the present crisis in West-India affairs to Emancipation, which they declare to be a failure: we affirm that that

crisis has been determined, not by the absence of Protective duties, not by the want of labour in the British West Indies, but mainly by the shameful destruction, waste, and misappropriation of actual produce which annually takes place on Sugar-estates, involving a cruel dissipation of the proportionate amount of labour employed to raise it.

Our opponents deny the correctness of our assertions in relation to the quantity of juice contained in the cane. They observe:

"It is a fact, that with the mills now in use, from 60 to 70 per cent. of juice is obtained from the cane, and unless the remaining 30 per cent. of dry, woody fibre contains as much sugar as the juice—a proposition too absurd to require second consideration—the first assertion is manifestly incorrect."

Messrs. Daniel and Co. do not appear to be aware—unless our articles have since enlightened them—that the cane has been proved to give only 10 per cent. of woody fibre; and one of our allegations is, that in the substance called megass, there are left and burnt, eight parts of sugar out of the eighteen parts contained in the 90 per cent. of juice which the cane is capable of yielding: or a proportion of 40 per cent. of juice. We take leave to tell Messrs. Daniel and Co. that their flippant denial of this fact does not prove its incorrectness. We venture further to ask them to produce the evidence, other than their own unsupported authority, on which they tell the Duke of Newcastle "it is not true that the quantity of juice expressed is limited to 50 per cent., but that from 60 to 70 per cent. of juice is commonly obtained from the cane, by the mills now in use." In some instances, indeed, this quantity may be procured. But will our opponents maintain, and produce proof, that this is the rule? On the authority of the most eminent chemists of the day, whose names and works have been quoted in a previous article, we unhesitatingly affirm it to be the exception.*

Our opponents, however, treat the deductions of science with contempt. They discard,

* The editors of the *Agricultural Reporter*, a Barbados sheet, shew, in an article published in February last, that the average yield on estates in Barbados is only 8.85 per cent. of sugar out of 20 per cent. that, according to Liebig, the cane contains; equivalent to only forty parts of juice out of ninety.

Dr. Mitchell of Trinidad, who visited Barbados and the other islands, found the return of juice to vary from 35 to 45 per cent. The best mills were in Guadaloupe and Martinique, *foreign colonies*. One he saw at work in the latter island, expressed 69 per cent. of juice; another in the former, gave 73 per cent.; and on submitting the megass to hydraulic pressure, it yielded 10 per cent. more, or, as he observes, "in all, 83 out of the 90 per cent. contained in the cane." Dr. Mitchell also states, that where the yield of juice is only 45 per cent., for every six hhds. of sugar that are

as unworthy of a moment's serious consideration, the recorded opinions of men whose reputation is European. They declare that "soil and seasons are of more powerful influence than the formula of the chemist:" that whilst "some land has been known to yield nearly four tons of sugar per acre, the same land, under the same management, and with even more diligent attention, has, in adverse seasons, failed to yield one ton per acre; that a change of weather has, even in the course of a few weeks, diminished or increased the return from the canes, by more than 50 per cent.; and therefore that any abstract theory upon the subject carries with it very little weight."

Now, Messrs. Daniel and Co. not only attribute to us, by implication, statements we have never uttered, but are guilty of a most disingenuous attempt to raise an argument on a false issue. We have never asserted that the same land is uniformly productive, nor have we ever denied the influence of weather and soil on the yield and quality of the cane. These were facts to which we did not even advert, because we did not conceive it possible any one would suppose we should not give them due weight. Nor are we sufficiently ingenious to comprehend the circuitous reasoning by which Messrs. Daniel and Co. have arrived at the conclusion, namely; that because an acre of land will in some years yield nearly four tons of sugar, and in others only one, therefore canes do not—as a rule—contain 18 per cent. of sugar, or 90 per cent. of juice. When chemists speak of the quantity of sugar in the cane, it is always with reference to the density of the juice, as fixed by an admitted standard. They have taken into account all the accidents of soil, of season, and of temperature, on which our opponents properly lay so much stress, but from which they draw such erroneous inferences: they have ascertained that in the course of even one season the density of the raw juice will vary—as tested by the saccharometer—five degrees, that is, from eight to fourteen, Beaumé; they have therefore struck the average, and fixed it at twelve degrees, and their formula is: that when the cane is fully ripe, it yields juice of this density, of which it contains ninety parts, or equivalent to from 18 to 22 per cent. of sugar. We had adopted the lowest average.

made, six more remain in the megass and are burnt

Dr. J. Davy, in his recently published work entitled *The West Indies before and since Emancipation*, observes in his chapter on Barbados: "The ordinary proportion of juice obtained from canes is about 50 per cent. By improvements in the mill, the quantity has been increased to 60 without injury to the megass as fuel; and where steam-power has been used, even to 70."

ED. A. S. R.

But Messrs. Daniel and Co. admit that, with his new mill, tried in London, Mr. Bessemer expressed 80 per cent. of juice from stale Madeira canes. They therefore clearly convict themselves of error in relation to the proportion of woody fibre which they assert enters into the composition of the cane. With singular perversity of reasoning, however, and because upon trial in Barbados, Antigua, and Demerara, Mr. Bessemer's mill failed in expressing as much juice as it did in London, they argue that this fact proves the cane does not contain 80 per cent. of juice, still less 90, according to the formula of the chemists. Whether this line of argument will prove as conclusive to ordinary understandings, as it appears to be to those who have employed it, is a point on which we may perhaps be permitted to express a very decided opinion in the negative.

But Messrs. Daniel and Co. do not stop short in their eccentric ratiocination. Abandoning, for a moment, what they seem to feel is a very lame attempt to disprove a well-ascertained fact, they state that "the result of close and practical investigation is to suggest a doubt whether the pressure of the cane is not already, in a pecuniary sense, carried too far, injuring the quality of the product, and increasing the difficulties and cost of manufacture, without a corresponding addition to the return." Now this is, at best, but a very transparent excuse to evade a dilemma. It may possibly impose upon those who are ignorant of the chemical components of Cane-juice, but it will only excite the ridicule of practical men. We ask Messrs. Daniel and Co. to point out the estate that is getting the very largest per centage of juice from the cane, and which is not producing more sugar of the quality usually obtained on that estate, and is therefore doing better than one which is procuring only just that per-centage at which "the close and practical investigation" our opponents refer to, has demonstrated that pressure must cease, or loss ensue. If their statement be true, how is it that the Cuban planters do not hesitate to lay out large sums for new mills which will cause their canes to give out an additional quantity of juice?† It may be very easy for Messrs. Daniel and Co. to make such broad statements as these, but let them produce proofs of their correctness. Up to this time, it is only Daniel and Co. *versus* Liebig, Porter, Wray, Archbald, Kerr, Shier, and others too numerous to mention.

Messrs. Daniel and Co., however, seek to weaken the authority of our witnesses against

† *Vide* Kerr. Also evidence of Mr. J. Liggins, before the Slave-Trade Treaties Committee, 1853.

the West-India fraternity. Because Mr. Kerr did not succeed in the application of the complicated processes he suggested, as a means of obviating the waste he ascertained to take place, and which he affirms would, if economized, "enable every estate now making 100 tons of sugar to ship 200 tons of better quality," Messrs. Daniel and Co. come to the conclusion that he was not competent to judge of the amount of waste actually incurred by imperfect expression, and yet more imperfect manufacture. In other words, and reducing our opponents' proposition to a syllogism, Mr. Kerr pointed out that the planters annually waste 100 per cent. of sugar; but Mr. Kerr did not succeed in establishing a method by which this enormous amount of waste might be obviated, therefore Mr. Kerr did not prove that 100 per cent. of sugar is annually wasted. Such a conclusion may not inaptly be termed a West-India *sequitur*.

With regard to Dr. Shier, the Duke of Newcastle is informed by Messrs. Daniel and Co. that the *Anti-Slavery Society*, in bringing him forward "to support their charge, that the means of improvement are wantonly and wilfully neglected by the West-India Body, produce the most direct, the most positive, and the most conclusive testimony of the falsity of the aspersion." Now we did not quote Dr. Shier in support of this charge, but as the authority on which we asserted that by the process of skimming Cane-juice, whilst it is being boiled to the sugar-point, from 20 to 25 per cent. of juice is lost for sugar-making purposes. This fact Messrs. Daniel and Co. do not attempt to controvert. Far from it, they give additional weight to Dr. Shier's testimony, by somewhat ostentatiously setting forth "that he was a Chemist specially retained by the colony of British Guiana, for the very purpose of effecting improvements in the manufacture of sugar; that for the accomplishment of this object, he was for several years paid a considerable salary, not only during his residence in the colony, but while engaged in visiting other sugar-producing countries, in order to increase his practical knowledge of the subject." But the inference drawn from this striking fact, by Messrs. Daniel and Co., is, that the West-India Body do not wilfully and wantonly neglect the means of improvement. The West-India Body must entertain a very poor opinion of the Duke of Newcastle's powers of discrimination, if they expect to mislead His Grace's judgment by such a sophism as this. The fact on which they lay so much stress simply shews that the West-India body went to considerable expense to secure the services of a gentleman whose investigations enabled him to demonstrate, that after destroying nearly one-half of their entire crop, in the first process of sugar-making, the planters

positively waste, in the second stage of manufacture, from 20 to 25 per cent. of the remainder. So far from disproving our assertion that they wilfully neglect the means of improvement, we submit that unless our opponents can prove that the wasteful processes condemned so emphatically by Dr. Shier, have been abandoned by their fellow-colonists, and that they have adopted the improvements they paid Dr. Shier so handsomely for pointing out, the fact they have adduced, only furnishes yet more conclusive evidence of the substantial correctness of one of our chief allegations against the West-India proprietary.

The next party attacked is Mr. Archbald, concerning whom Messrs. Daniel and Co. say:

"With regard to Mr. Archbald, knowing how much disappointment had resulted from his interference at a property with which we had some connection, we confess we did not hear, without considerable interest, that a brother merchant was devoting time, means, and energy, to the development of his schemes, and with sanguine expectations of success; notwithstanding the determined and hopeful perseverance with which the trial was pursued, no practical benefit could be obtained."

The "brother merchant" alluded to is Mr. Joseph Liggins, who, we have shewn, proved the soundness and practical advantages of Mr. Archbald's system, consigned his favourable opinion of the same in a report, to the circulation of which he gave his consent, and then dishonourably sought to repudiate it.*

With reference to the alleged interference of Mr. Archbald, at a property with which they had some connection, and of its resulting in much disappointment to them, we submit that the very obvious interpretation of the paragraph above quoted leads to the conclusion that Mr. Archbald had tried his process at an estate in which they were interested, and that it failed. Having ascertained that the "property" alluded to was the Dunbar estate in Antigua, and that Mr. Archbald not only had no knowledge of the estate, but had never visited Antigua in his life, we felt it our duty to press Messrs. Daniel and Co. for some further explanation. Not without difficulty, we have elicited from them that they intended to intimate, not that Mr. Archbald had been to the Dunbar estate, tried his process there and failed, but that "in 1846, five puncheons of Concentrated Cane-juice, prepared by the Archbald process, were consigned to them" from the above-mentioned estate; that the importation was the result of suggestions made by Mr. Archbald, (who was then in London,) and that the material sold at a price which did not pay the proprietor.

* Vide the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for April last.

These facts, we are to believe, were quite clearly set forth in the passage we have quoted from Messrs. Daniel and Co.'s letters to the Duke of Newcastle.

Messrs. Daniel and Co. state that we have been led to attach much importance to the commercial results of this importation, and have deduced therefrom that it is much more profitable to import Cane-juice, reduced to the sugar-point of concentration, than to bring home sugar and molasses in the ordinary way. Now, although we had never made this transaction the basis of any calculation, we are willing to do so now, and publicly challenge Messrs. Daniel and Co. to convict us of error.

They inform us that sugar, from the same estate, fetched 47s. per cwt., and molasses 27s., which would give, for a material containing equal proportions of each, an average price of 37s. per cwt. They further inform us that the five puncheons in question sold as follows: one at 40s., one at 34s., and three at 38s. per cwt., or an average price of 37s. 8d. per cwt. But though these quotations, prove that the material obtained above an average price—according to its estimated components—they do not shew the positive advantage the planter derived from shipping it in this form; which is, after all, the most important point for consideration, and which constitutes the value of Mr. Archbald's discovery. We will supply the information.

The first fact is, that there was no drainage on the material at sea, nor waste in other ways; therefore, every cwt. of it which he obtained in the colony, he landed nett in England, and obtained for it 37s. 8d. The second fact is, that by the ordinary plan, namely, of separating the molasses from the sugar, and shipping them separately, for every cwt. of Concentrated Cane-juice obtained in the island, there is landed in England 56 lbs. of dry sugar and only 17 lbs. of molasses.* Setting the sugar and the molasses at the prices furnished by Messrs. Daniel and Co., namely, 47s. per cwt. for the former and 27s. per cwt. for the latter, we get for the 56 lbs. of sugar, 23s. 6d., and for the 17 lbs. of molasses, say, 4s. 2d., total 27s. 8d. The third fact, therefore, is, that by the new mode of shipping his produce the planter saved 39 lbs. of molasses out of 56 lbs., and got 37s. 8d. for a hundredweight of Concentrated Cane-juice, containing equal parts of sugar and mo-

lasses;† whereas, had he treated it by his former plan, the same weight of crude material would have yielded him only 56 lbs. of dry sugar and 17 lbs. of molasses, for which he would have obtained 27s. 8d. There is thus shewn a difference of 10s. per cwt., equivalent to 10l. a ton, in favour of the new plan.

But Messrs. Daniel and Co. inform us that they "had to pay within a trifle of the sugar-duty, upon a commodity which was only saleable as good molasses, and this commercially is utter failure."

Now at that time, the duty on sugar was 14s. per cwt., and on molasses 5s. 3d. per cwt. From 37s. 8d., therefore, the price obtained for one cwt. of the commodity referred to, deduct 14s. duty, and there will be left 23s. 8d. per cwt. nett to the planter, less expenses. But we have shewn that the same quantity of Concentrated Cane-juice, treated in the ordinary way, would only have yielded, in money, 27s. 8d., because, though there would have been obtained 56 lbs. of dry sugar, there would have been landed only 17 lbs. of molasses. Deduct, therefore, 7s. as the proportionate duty on the sugar, and say, 9d. *pro rata* on the molasses, we get 19s. 11d. nett return (less expenses) to the planter, for the same weight of Cane-juice boiled to the sugar-point. Here again, therefore, notwithstanding the depreciating operation of the duty, there is shewn to have been a clear gain to the planter of 3s. 9d. per cwt. equivalent to 3l. 15s. per ton.

But the profit was even larger, for as the juice was "prepared by Archbald's process," 20 per cent. was saved by making no skimmings, or 22 lbs. more of Concentrated juice were obtained from the same

† In confirmation of the statement made in the Memorial of the West-India Body, to which we have before referred, setting forth the proportions of sugar and molasses estimated to be contained in any given quantity of Cane-juice reduced to the sugar-point of concentration, we submit an extract from a report, with which we have been courteously favoured, by direction of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury. It sets forth the particulars of an experiment, made in 1847, in presence of the Surveyor-General of Customs, on a certain quantity of Cane-juice, part of a parcel imported by Messrs. Reid, Irving, and Co.; the said experiment having been instituted expressly to ascertain the quantity of sugar and molasses in Cane-juice, when reduced to the sugar-point.

"Sixty lbs of Cane-juice of the specific gravity of 35 was boiled to the sugar-point, and then placed in a mould, where it remained several days to granulate, after which the molasses was allowed to drain from it into pots, for several days more. The draining being completed, the result of the operation was ascertained to be as follows: 21 lbs. sugar, 22 lbs. molasses, 17 lbs. water, which evaporated in the boiling."—*Ed. A. S. R.*

* The report of the *Barbados Chamber of Commerce*, referred to in our last, sets forth that for every hogshead of sugar weighing 15 cwt. landed nett in England, there is left in the colony 60 gals. or 660 lbs. of molasses. But as the loss by drainage at sea on this commodity is 20 per cent., the proportion landed in England would be reduced to 528 lbs., or at the rate of about 34 lbs. of molasses per cwt. of dry sugar.

original quantity of raw juice. At the foregoing rates this would give 4s. 6d. more, duty deducted; which, added to the former sum, shews a gain of 8s. 3d. per cwt., equivalent to 8l. 5s. per ton.

This is what Messrs. Daniel and Co. call "utter commercial failure." We would venture to ask them what is their standard of commercial success? The opinion they have expressed seems to have been formed upon a very imperfect appreciation of facts. They appear to have been guided only by the price which the new commodity fetched, and they have left altogether out of their calculations, the amount of produce saved to the planter. That the sugar-duty should have been charged upon an article containing half molasses, and the profit on the shipment thereby diminished, cannot, we submit, be converted by any reasoning, however eccentric, into a proof of the commercial unsoundness of the process itself, though it may suit a purpose to make the assertion. If, however, Messrs. Daniel and Co. had entertained any doubt on the subject, it ought to have been at once removed by the evidence we recently submitted to them, furnished by one of their own correspondents, and shewing by account sales, copied by permission from the books of a well-known firm abroad, that by bringing home Concentrated juice, shipped in tight casks, the estate is clearing 53 per cent. over and above what it used to do by following the ordinary plan of consigning sugar and molasses.

Now, Messrs. Daniel and Co. were in possession of these facts when they enclosed to the Duke of Newcastle their letter to us of the 17th February last, stating that "the utter failure of the Archbald process in its practical application, even under the most favourable circumstances, is beyond dispute." If Mr. Kerr's failures, as alleged by them, invalidate his authority as a competent witness on West-India agriculture and manufactures, the same rule applies to Mr. Archbald; and their record of any failure of his, especially on the authority of their own personal experience, is calculated to convey a most damaging impression of his competency as a practical sugar-maker, and to inspire serious doubts as to the soundness of any system he might recommend. This, however, is obviously the purpose they have had in view to accomplish. They have not only adopted as proven facts, the misrepresentations of Mr. Liggins, in relation to his experiments, and thereby added the weight of their testimony to a palpable equivocation, but have deliberately asseverated in the ear of a minister of the Crown, that the Archbald system of importing the crops, has proved an utter failure, though facts, within their

own cognizance, go to prove its undoubted success.

The position in which this correspondence will place Messrs. Daniel and Co., in the estimation of honourable men, is far from enviable; and they will excuse us, if instead of offering on their course any comment of our own, we take the liberty of borrowing from one of their letters to us, an apothegm, the full force of which we had not until the present time been able to appreciate.

"When mis-statements are adopted as truths, and made the basis of censure upon the subjects of detraction, that which may be passed by in the one case as mere colouring, becomes in the other POSITIVE SLANDER."

Our opponents lay considerable stress upon the fact that rum is, at present, the most profitable article of West-India production. Granted; but we submit that the main object of cultivating the sugar-cane is to produce sugar, not poison. Waiving, however, any peculiar reasons we may have for employing a strong term in speaking of so deleterious a commodity, and for affirming that society at large has small reason to be grateful to the West-India proprietary for producing it, we further submit that if the skimmings and the proportion of molasses annually wasted in the distillation of this pernicious spirit, were converted into sugar—as they can be—rum would not, under similar circumstances, be less remunerative than it is at present. It would, in such case, have to be distilled from sugar, and would bear a value proportionate to that of the quantity of this article required to produce it, and not one regulated wholly by, and dependent upon a factitious demand. Under the present system, if the planter did not distil his skimmings, he would have to throw them into the kennel, as is done in Louisiana, and to a great extent in Cuba, and the Brazils; so that although he now obtains, at the expense of public morality, some profit from their distillation, the fact is to be regarded as an economic accident, rather than as the result of a legitimate and wholesome industry.

Commenting upon our statement respecting the Barbados crop of 1853, which, had it been imported in the new form, we alleged would have yielded upwards of 1,000,000l., instead of only 680,000l., Messrs. Daniel and Co. submit to the Duke of Newcastle, that "if two give three, four will give six, is not true with reference to returns derived from the supply of markets." But "the experience" of His Grace, to which Messrs. Daniel and Co. so flatteringly appeal, will at once suggest that the correctness of this negative entirely depends upon the exigencies of general consumption, which, in the present instance, demand from the British West Indies nearly 100 per cent. more saccharine produce than

they supply.* Under such circumstances, therefore, it will be difficult for Messrs. Daniel and Co. to prove that in this instance four will not give six, or five at least, it being granted that two give three.

In relation to molasses, we are reminded that it is largely consumed in the West Indies, and that its relative price in the English markets is, at this very time, higher than that of sugar. Admitted: but for this argument to have any weight, it must be demonstrated, not only that the consumption of molasses in the West-India islands exceeds by more than 100 per cent. the entire quantity of this commodity cleared annually, from all parts, for home consumption, over and above any further quantity—besides skimmings—that may be used to make the rum that is imported; but also, that it is more profitable to convert 50 per cent. of the cane-juice into molasses for consumption in the islands, than to manufacture it into a new saccharine material for the most available markets.

Probably with a view to propitiate the Colonial Minister in favour of immigration, Messrs. Daniel and Co. allege that “the profitable production of sugar is, under present circumstances, essentially and beyond all parallel a labour question.” With some dexterity they proceed to graft on this assertion a comment on the labour-strikes in this country, evidently leading to the conclusion that the two labour-questions are identical or even similar. Now they are perfectly distinct. In England the difficulty is, as Messrs. T. Daniel and Co. correctly remark, to regulate “in what proportion the returns for production shall be divided between the capitalist and the labourer:” in the West Indies, it is to determine how the capitalist or planter shall secure such a control over the free negro, as shall enable him to command the continuous services of the latter, for a given daily wage, at the time they are most valuable, without reducing the negro to a condition approximating to that from which he has been happily emancipated. We are told, on the one hand, that “the climate stimulates idleness and indulgence,” and on the other, that “in the want of control over the labourer is to be found the greatest difficulty in carrying out any improved system of manufacture.” We do not call the fact into question, but it only shews the importance of the West-India planters’ turning their serious attention, in the first place, to those improved modes of manufacturing their staple, by which their produce might be more than doubled, without the employment of a single additional labourer, or the planting of one more cane. By taking advantage of these, production could be carried on at a much cheaper rate than by coerced labour, and our planters would

thus be enabled to beat Cuba and Brazil out of the field, notwithstanding the proximate assimilation of the sugar-duties.

Messrs. Daniel and Co. have sought to evade a discussion of the real points at issue between themselves and us, by stating, in general terms, that they “should not make the merits of any particular theory of manufacture the subject of controversy with any one, least of all with the *Anti-Slavery Society*.” We take leave to observe to Messrs. Daniel and Co. that it is not a theory that is in question, but a fact. Had we entered upon the discussion of a mere theory, we should have been going beyond our province. We have, however, proved that the new mode of shipping the crops—which they call a theory—is at this very time in extensive and profitable operation in a foreign colony; that an experiment of a similar kind, tried by Messrs. Daniel and Co. themselves, in 1846, proved highly successful: that the preliminary process requisite to enable the planter to ship his produce in the new form, with the greatest advantage, has been tested by one of the West-India Body, and been by him declared to be efficacious and easy of application: that the West-India Body—probably upon sufficiently weighty testimony—have, in a Memorial addressed to Government, dwelt upon the advantages which their adoption of the proposed plan would be the means of securing to them: and that, notwithstanding these facts, the West-India Body have not only neglected to adopt it, but are now attempting to cast discredit upon it and its promoter. These at least are facts sufficiently tangible for a British public to comprehend, and, if we mistake not, to suggest in certain quarters a few questions which the West-India Body may not find it so easy to answer, or to dismiss summarily by vague and evasive generalities.

WEST-INDIA INTELLIGENCE.

SUMMARY.

JAMAICA.—We learn by the last mails, that the Bill for remedying the defects of the Constitution had been passed by the Assembly, and been handed over to the Council. By the Bill, as it passed the House, the Governor was empowered to select not more than three Members from the House, and one from the Council, to be Members of the Executive Committee, with salaries at the rate of 800*l.* per annum each and 500*l.* for contingencies. The Council propose that the Governor should be empowered to appoint a permanent Secretary to the Executive Board, who should also discharge the duties of Clerk to the Privy Council, at an adequate salary, and that each

* *Vide Anti-Slavery Reporter for March last.*

Member of the Executive should receive over and above his official remuneration, 100*l.* a year for the contingencies of office. Another amendment had reference to the obligation laid upon Members of the House of Assembly, who might be selected by the Governor, as Members of the Executive Committee, to go back to their constituents for re-election. The House of Assembly had added this clause, which was not in the Bill as first framed. The Council now propose that it shall be wholly canceled. The qualification of Members is the subject of another amendment. The Council object to the required qualification, that the proposed Member shall be possessed of freehold estates "clear from all incumbrance." The effect of these amendments will be to increase the charge on the revenue for the reduction of the principal and interest on the Government loan, from 30,000*l.* to 32,500*l.*, and also materially to increase the Civil list. Some discussions have taken place upon the proposed emendations, in the House of Assembly, but without any known results. A conference is to take place between the two bodies, in order, if possible, to reconcile differences. On the 2d of February last, Mr. Osborn proposed a resolution, that it be an instruction to the Committee of Finance and Accounts, to bring in a Bill to direct the Commissioners of Public Accounts to issue Island Notes to the amount of 50,000*l.*, and also to direct the Receiver-General to sell 65,000*l.* of Exchequer Bills for the payment of the public liabilities up to the 5th of January last; such Island Cheques and Exchequer Bills to be redeemed out of the loan proposed to be granted by Her Majesty's Government. After discussion, a division took place, when there appeared for the Resolution 16; against it 10.

BRITISH GUIANA.—The Duke of Newcastle has been induced to offer considerable concessions to the demands of the Planters in relation to the immigration of Coolies. At a Meeting of the Court of Policy held on the 17th of February, a despatch from the Colonial Secretary was read, to which was attached other correspondence therein alluded to. From it we learn that he declines acceding to the wishes of the Planters, that the period of indenture, which is now three years, should be extended to five, it being undesirable, in his opinion, to postpone more than is necessary for the purpose, the period at which the immigrants become at liberty to choose their own employers. But he proposes to secure five years' labour to the colony without hardship to the colony, under the following conditions: 1. A three years' indenture on arrival. 2. At the expiration of that period, the Coolie to have the option of re-indenturing himself to the same or

some other master, for one or two years, or of commuting for 5*l.* the remaining two years of his industrial residence. 3. In case of re-indenture for one year, the same option to be given at the end of that year; the alternative payment, however, being reduced to 2*l.* 10*s.* 4. At the end of five years the emigrant to be free from any further obligation to industrial residence, and at liberty to return at his own expense to India. In order to obtain a return passage at the expense of the colony, he must serve a second five years on the same terms as the first. To this retention of the Coolie for ten years in the colonies the East-India Company has been induced to give its consent. These arrangements are not to apply to Coolies already in the colonies, who are to be dealt with in strict accordance with former enactments. With reference to emigration from the Kroo Coast, through the instrumentality of Messrs. Hyde, Hodge, and Co., the Duke of Newcastle remarks, in a despatch dated the 12th January last, that "by a proclamation issued by the President of Monrovia in the month of February 1853, special attention was drawn to the abuses by which this emigration must be attended, and that a subsequent correspondence and inquiry having taken place on the subject, the result has been, to shew that without any evil intention on the part of the European Agents concerned, but owing to the inveterate habits of the Africans themselves, such emigration would be likely to be converted into a means of disposing of the captives taken in war, and thus fomenting those internal hostilities between different African tribes, which formed one of the great evils of the slave-trade itself." "I have therefore," his Grace remarks, "been compelled to come to the conclusion, that emigration can no longer be sanctioned from any part of Africa not under the immediate control of British Authorities."

One of the clauses of the new Educational scheme now before the Court of Policy, has given rise to a large amount of discussion. The Attorney-General proposes that all parents who are not prevented by poverty, shall send their children, between the ages of five and twelve years, to receive instruction at some school, if there be any within a reasonable distance of their residence (such reasonable distance to be determined by the Local Board,) and provided such children be in good health. The penalty in case of neglect or refusal so to do, is the forfeiture to the Council of Education, for the purposes of this Ordinance, of the sum of four cents for each day's absence from school of each child between the ages of eight and twelve years, or of two cents for each day's absence of every child between the ages of five and eight years.

The *Royal Gazette*, in its Mail Summary of the 25th of February, states that rain had fallen in considerable quantity, and having been accompanied by a cold northerly wind, it had chilled, stunted, and yellowed a little those canes not yet arrived at maturity in some parts of the country. However, there was still every prospect of a large crop. Tonnage was scarcely to be had. Freights were exorbitant, so that the small estate owner, compelled to sell his produce in the country, sold it at a price very much below the rates that rule in the mother country. An apprehension existed that this condition of things, so far as the sugar-grower is concerned, would more likely get worse than better, owing to the approaching war.

Experiments lately made in the colony by a Mr. Manifold, for the extraction of more juice from the cane, seemed likely to lead to important results. The machinery with which the experiments were made was on a small scale, and only a first attempt. The cane, it appears, is first passed through circular saws, and reduced to a pulp. This pulp is then steamed and subjected to the action of the hydraulic press. A trial of the apparatus took place on the 10th inst. at *Anna Regina*, and the *Royal Gazette* says that all the gentlemen present on the occasion (including the Honorable Thomas Porter and John Jones, Messrs. James Stuart, D. Mackintosh, J. H. King, and several others connected with the planting and engineering interests) were much pleased with the several experiments. Irrespective of the increase of juice under heavier pressure, a jet of steam, which is passed through the pulp, coagulates the albumen, and the juice is delivered at a high temperature, and much clearer than by the mill. It was stated Mr. Manifold was about to proceed to England to perfect an apparatus on a large scale, having, from the experiments he has made, obtained all the required data for the purpose.

Three hundred and thirty-seven emigrants had arrived, 30 from Madeira and 307 from Calcutta. The Court of Policy had returned a reply to the Lieutenant-Governor's speech at the opening of the Session, in which they remark, that the continued progress of the Colony is no less a subject of congratulation than it is one of just pride. They are said to be now beginning to reap the fruits of the extraordinary efforts and sacrifices which in the face of every difficulty and opposition,

have been made by the community for supplying the deficiency of labour. The Colonists are encouraged to go on steadily in the course they have been pursuing, to secure their own interests, and to maintain unimpaired the efficiency of Government.

ST. KITTS'S.—This island appears to be in a very flourishing condition; for besides an average crop of sugar last year, it exported 13,663 barrels of sweet potatoes, and raised a good quantity of yams and farina. The criminal report is favourable. We find it stated by the Chief Justice, in his address to the Grand Jury, that during the year 1853 there were only 20 convictions against 412 in the previous year.

The crop is estimated at 30,000 hogsheads.

ST. VINCENT.—The dispute which had arisen between the planters and the labourers, and to which we referred in our last summary, has been amicably adjusted; and the labourers have resumed their work. The Lieutenant-Governor had issued a circular advising concessions, which had had the desired effect. The rate of wages is said to be 1s. 3d. per day, which will no doubt be reduced after the crop is secured.

GRENADA.—The legislature stands adjourned until the 16th of May. With regard to the commercial progress of the island, sugar-making was progressing, and the weather was very favourable for that purpose, but too windy and dry for the young canes. The yield of the cut canes turns out not to be so good as there was reason to expect from the excellent season which prevailed up to the middle of December. The absence of rain since that period, and the succession of piercing winds, and a daily scorching sun, had had the effect of so suddenly drying up the canes before they had ripened, particularly on plantations in low situations, that hardly an average yield had been obtained where the best hopes were entertained. On the whole, however, the crop of the island may be estimated at about 700 hogsheads, which will be about 1000 hogsheads that of last year. The Act passed by the Legislature of the island for the im- had not been allowed—the term of five years portation of Chinese and Coolie emigrants apprenticeship being considered objectionable.

TORTOLA.—The cholera has made awful ravages here, 1000 of the inhabitants having fallen a prey to its cruel attacks. At Antigua the Legislature has granted 100*l.* to be laid out in provisions to be conveyed thither for the relief of the sufferers.